

NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

Series number: A981

Control symbol: UNI 173 PART 2

Barcode: 182638

Number of pages: 287

Title: USA. United States. Relations with Great Britain. General

Copies of this record are provided for research or study purposes. Before making use of the material for other purposes (for example publication) please refer to information on copyright obligations and citing archival records available on our website at www.naa.gov.au.

Department of External Affairs, Correspondence file, alphabetical series:
'United States. Relations with Great Britain. General', 1933-1941.
Commonwealth Archives Office: CRS A981, item U.S.A. 173, Part II.

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

usa' nix



OFFICES OF THE WAR CABINET.
~~EXTRAMURAL SERVICE~~
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

WHITEHALL 5422

H.1026.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

18th December, 1941.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.



ANGLO AMERICAN RELATIONS.

I enclose an interesting letter received in this country from America, which the Economic Advisor at Australia House thought you would like to have. The writer is Mr. Stephen Vincent Benét, one of the younger generation of American writers.

Repled Stirling

COPY.

ANGLO AMERICAN RELATIONS.

LONG RANGE.

Rex Stout is dead right. Beating Hitler is the first and essential thing. But after that comes an even bigger problem. Let me try to put some ideas in order.

The British Empire and the United States are the only two going concerns which can preserve a reasonable amount of peace, justice and freedom and a decent standard of living over large portions of the earth's surface during the next fifty years.

They are the only going concerns that can do it because they are the only going concerns that have the man power and the industrial plant to enforce peace, and the only two concerns that can enforce peace without tyranny.

They can do it together, and by wanting to do it together. The history of the last twenty-five years, if it proves nothing else, proves that much. Whenever either one retreats into isolationism or loses sight of the world picture in its own local concerns, both are endangered. And with them, any hope for a reasonable world-civilization is endangered.

It is therefore the duty of every American and of every citizen of the British Empire who wants a reasonable and decent world to work for closer Anglo-American cooperation - not only political cooperation but a cooperation of mutual understanding, mutual respect, mutual tolerance, mutual endeavour, toward a larger goal.

These are facts, not theories. I am not an Anglomaniac and I never have been. I am not in the least affected by the Eastern Seaboard attitude of timid and worshipful respect for English Toryism, and I never have been. I am much more at home in France than I am in England and at times the English irritate me like hell. But this is a matter in which personal feelings must be put aside. This is root hog or die, for ourselves and our children.

Yes, I would like an effective League of Nations - I would like the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World - I would like the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth. But I see no chance of getting them. I want just one minimum objective - a chance for my children to grow up in freedom and decency. I believe that such an objective can only be obtained by Anglo-American cooperation, not only in crisis but after the crisis is over. The only alternative would be for the United States to build a steel wall of ships and planes and guns around the entire Western Hemisphere. That could be done - it is within our powers. But the price in ideals, as well as in blood and treasure would be staggering.

Various elaborate political schemes have been proposed for closer Anglo-American cooperation - all the way from double citizenship to Union Now. All have some merit - all work very well on paper. The pressure of events may force some of them into being. But I don't want a federation on paper - I don't want a plan that could be beaten by half a dozen votes in the Senate or a division in the House of Commons and then dropped with a thud, leaving sick disillusion behind. I want something that will work.

It's a long range, heartbreaking job. It can only be done if people on both sides of the Atlantic want it done. It can only be done if people on both sides of the Atlantic explain and keep explaining why it ought to be done. If, after this war, we drift back into the atmosphere of mutual suspicion and disillusion that characterised our relations after the last war, all will be to do again. And that is easy to do. Things seen in the bright light of immediate danger look very differently when the immediate danger is past. Even though the war should be won, the slump will come. We will hear the same cries again - on the British side that America did little and claimed much - on the American side that America did much, got little, and wasted her strength on a quarrel not here. Those who want a reasonable future must inoculate themselves and others against those cries.

We suffer from an extraordinary lack of real information about each other, even the so-called intellectuals. Perhaps this panel can do something to remedy that lack. I should like to think that there were a group of people here and in London vitally concerned not only with the immediate task of propaganda which comes first, but with the longer task of mutual explanations - a clearing shore for ideas and people. Just that - a place you could do and find somebody fairly like-minded who could tell you somewhere to go or somebody to see or a lack that isn't being filled - would be valuable. And it could be much more.

As a footnote and for long range - of course this is my personal King Charles' head, and I realise it - we ought to know some things in each others history better. We do get a lot more English history here, in our schools and colleges, than the English get of American history in theirs. Otherwise it would be impossible for an intelligent and cultivated Englishman to ask me quite seriously as one did some time ago if Daniel Webster was a genuine historical character. But English history is too often presented to us either in the direct possible terms of constitutional growth or else as a romantic cavalcade which has no genuine bearing on our own interests and concerns. I wonder how many Englishmen realise the full implications of the growth of the Monroe Doctrine, since its curious inception, and the fact that it cuts both ways? I wonder how many Americans realise the part played by Canning - you can call it a selfish part, if you like, yet the thing did work out. Well, that's my particular foible. But something could be done about it sometime.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS.

1. I am still very much interested in getting the younger English point of view represented over here, either by books and articles or by personal visits. I think it would be extremely valuable - both for our own younger people and very possibly for others. I mentioned the magazine "Horizon" (a) because it's a good magazine, (b) because it talks in terms our younger people can understand. Ian Hay and Charles Morgan - fine for one kind of audience. But younger people need to know that there is another Britain than the land of lobelias and retired Colonels they have been fed to the teeth with a lot of modern English poetry. And only the younger English groups can tell them that so they'll believe it. If some of this group are ex-pacifists - okay - an ex-pacifist can talk to pacifists much more effectively. If both of them are radicals - okay - if you're a radical and a radical tells you why you're fighting, it makes you think where a conservative would'nt.

Personally, I'm a moderate, and these people appeal to me as a moderate and a liberal. I have no parti pris about it - I don't know any of them personally. But I think they'd be very valuable for a specific audience here.

Mr. Foster, I think raised the point (a) that the British Government didn't like to send over men of military age (b) that the question might be raised over here, "If you feel that way, why aren't you fighting?" On (a) it can only be said that a man may sometimes be more valuable doing one job than another. On (b) I don't think the question would come up much with the particular groups you wanted to reach. Anyhow, some of them must be physically unfit - in which case the question couldn't arise. Or, if they happened to be ARP wardens or fire wardens, or something like that, it ought to be possible to pull them over through our Civilian Defence and give them enough spare time off to get around, see people, talk and write and lecture. Things like lecture engagements - not tours necessarily but certain specific engagements at specific Universities, for instance, could be arranged. I imagine both President Conant and President Seymour, for instance, are already cooperating on a certain interchange of scholars. etc. But let's have some young men, too - not always the distinguished but middle-aged.

2. We have had, magnificently told, the story of London during the blitz - and we have had and are getting the story of the English village at war - Margaret Kennedy - Margery Allingham, etc. But we are a big industrial nation and so is Britain, and not so much has come over on the human interest side of the British industrial picture. Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, how do they feel - why do they feel it - how are they living - for what are they hoping - etc. And how, incidentally, are they meeting the problems we are beginning to face with our vastly expanding industry? There is a magnificent story here - could "Life" do a spread on that I think "Life" did one sort of thing but another kind of thing could be done - very simple - just "This is the church - this the steeple - this is the Home Guard - this is the pub - this is what happens when the planes come over - " Very simple - mostly pictures - little but telling text. It could be enormously effective if matters could be worked out with the British end and the British censorship.

3. We are finally getting some Labour people and union leaders over here. That is fine. And we could use ten times as many as have been sent.

4. Any chance of seeing more Australians, who are people we always get on with?

Well, I've put down these ideas helter-skelter and informally. Some of them may not be any good - some of them may already have been covered. But I'm passing them on.

As ever,

(SGD) Steve (Stephen Vincent) Benet



United States No. 1 (1941)

SPEECH BY VISCOUNT HALIFAX

HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR

AT WASHINGTON

March 25, 1941

*Presented by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
to Parliament by Command of His Majesty*

LONDON

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

To be purchased directly from H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE at the following addresses:
York House, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2; 120 George Street, Edinburgh 2;
39-41 King Street, Manchester 2; 1 St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff;
85 Chichester Street, Belfast;
or through any bookseller

1941

Price 2d. net

Cmd. 6264

National Archives of Australia NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

SPEECH BY VISCOUNT HALIFAX, HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON, MARCH 25, 1941.⁽¹⁾

My last engagement before leaving England was to meet Pilgrims at a farewell luncheon given to me on the eve of sailing. It is in accordance with tradition that the first public speech of a new British Ambassador to this country should be made to a kindly and distinguished audience of Pilgrims of the United States.

I confess that one of my earliest feelings on my appointment as Ambassador to the United States was a tremor of apprehension at the number of speeches which I might be expected to make. Nor was it possible for me (except at a price that I should have been reluctant to ask of you) to find relief in the advice once given to me by Lord Balfour when I first entered the House of Commons thirty years ago. I told him that I felt rather like a new boy arriving at a strange school. "My dear fellow," he said, "there is never any need to be nervous in the House of Commons. All you have to do is to speak as often as you can and as long as you can and you will rapidly lose any sense of mercy for your audience, as every bore always does."

My reason for coming here is known to you all. I told your fellow Pilgrims in London some of the reasons which had moved me to submit to The King the name of Philip Lothian to be His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington. He came to you, indeed, not as a stranger, but as one who already knew and loved your country and had many good friends among you, and was in a special degree equipped to undertake the task. I little thought at that time that it would fall to me to succeed him after a tragically short period of sixteen months.

But the value of men's work and lives is not to be measured in the length of days, and I do not hesitate to say that the year that Lord Lothian spent here was the most formative and important of his life. He had long prepared unconsciously for it, and when the opportunity came he gave himself without stint to that which is the purpose of your Society: the cause of better understanding between our peoples.

The fruits of his labour stand to-day for all the world to see. He would not, I think, have wished any better monument.

Seldom before in the world's history can so much have depended on that understanding—and for that reason the Prime Minister rightly described this post as "the most important at this time which any British subject can occupy outside the United Kingdom."

Nor is the reason far to seek why recent months have seen the steady drawing together of the thought of our two countries. You and we have felt from the outset that the instinctive reaction of our two peoples to the challenge offered by the new philosophy of totalitarian dictatorship must be identical. As the struggle has grown more intense, reason and conscience have combined to make us both

⁽¹⁾ Delivered at The Pilgrims' Dinner in New York.

realise even more clearly the dark menace to things that are equally precious to your country and to mine.

This common purpose has been sealed anew by the recent passage into law of the Lease-and-Lend Act.

It is difficult to exaggerate what this means. Across the seas in the front line, which is Britain, as in the hearts of those submerged for a time under the German wave, there will be felt a new confidence; in the camp of the enemy new doubts; as all alike remember the history of the last war and see the time surely approaching when the weight of this nation must tip the scales.

And if we have felt able, as we have, to count upon the increasing support of your moral and industrial partnership in this business, we hope that you, too, have seen the bearing of the British people to be such as you would have expected from your own people if they were similarly placed.

Certainly, as personality often lingers where at some forgotten time has been stamped the mark of deep human feeling, so day by day the number of those places grows which will long speak to any Englishman of the courage and self-sacrifice that they have seen.

We are wont to say that we are fighting for freedom and for democracy—for freedom as the quality of life that we desire; for democracy as the system of government which is at once its best expression and surest guarantee for its protection.

What do we mean when we use these large words?

I can only tell you what I mean, and what I know my fellow countrymen mean, even if they do not always translate it into precise language; and I do not think that you will take any different view.

There seem to us to be certain principles that are essential to life as we wish to live it and to see it lived. These principles are now in dire peril and we believe, therefore, that we are truly fighting for our lives, since life to us is worthless if the principles on which it is built are to be destroyed.

We do well to remind ourselves of what these principles are. They, like an iceberg of which the greater part is out of sight, lie deep below the surface of man's outward being. I would state thus what in varying forms is in many minds to-day: first, the religious principle of the absolute value of every human soul; second, the moral principle of respect for personality and conscience; third, the social principle of individual liberty. This finds its expression in two ways: in the sphere of politics through equal opportunity, justice and the rule of law; economically, through the direction of national effort to the creation of conditions that may bring some real security into the daily life of the humblest citizens; and, finally, the domestic principle of the sanctity and solidarity of the family which is the natural development of the individual.

Unless we build on these foundations—religious, moral, social and domestic—we have no hope of finding the way of happiness.

It is only by slow process that man has learnt to apprehend these principles. They have come to him by Christianity and by other

great religions. They have drawn vitality from the best of human thought throughout the centuries. For us they are expressed and protected by democracy, and that is why we value it.

There are, of course, other nations who have different systems of government, but who are not less concerned than ourselves to secure a way of life which these principles reflect. And this is because it is on their maintenance that rights fundamental to human life and progress plainly rest.

From those principles, I believe, derive rights that, following your Declaration of Independence more than 150 years ago, and following also that historic speech by your President ten days ago, I would assert for all men to-day: the right to think, speak and act freely within the law and to have free access to the thoughts of others; the right of free association, both national and international, with their fellow-men; the right to live without fear of aggression, injustice or want; the right to believe and worship as conscience may dictate. It is the vindication of these rights that men passionately desire.

It has sometimes been suggested that the tradition of freedom in Western Europe is a recent growth. But the heroic struggle for popular government, continuously waged since the early Middle Ages in my own country, as in almost every part of Europe, proves conclusively how old and how widely rooted is the idea of freedom. America is the creation of men who so valued freedom that they called a New World into being in order to maintain it.

The British Commonwealth has grown in an atmosphere of freedom and has developed the principle and practice of self-government. We see the fruits of it in the march of free men from the four corners of the earth, men whose loyalty to a common Crown—for them the symbol of liberty—has brought them to fight by sea, land and air at our side to-day.

Now there is not an inch of common ground between those who accept and reject these principles or assert and deny these rights.

The Nazi system is bondage, bodily and spiritual; political and economic. According to the Nazi philosophy the State both may and must claim the whole allegiance of man's body and soul. Truth, conscience, mercy, honour, justice, love—where these clash with what is held to be the overriding interest of the State, they are regarded by Hitler as offences. As Hitler plans the world under his so-called "New Order," it would be divided into Germans as the master race and other nations as second-class peoples with rights and interests subordinated to those of the ruling caste.

For Europe such a system involves the shackling of industry and commerce, ruthless compulsion in place of free contract and the permanent enslavement of all peoples.

But German ambitions do not stop at Europe. Already Hitler is scheming to overrun great tracts of Africa and Asia. Across what have now become the Straits of Dakar, the invader of Africa, if he could once establish the undisputed mastery of Europe, could swiftly

pounce upon your Latin neighbours to the South. The American Continent, as a standing challenge to German domination, could be attacked before it had time to arm in self-defence. In any case, the doors of trade in Europe, Asia and Africa would be closed to it except on terms laid down by Germany.

Would Hitler attempt this last and greatest act of highway robbery? We cannot tell. Some will advance arguments against the likelihood of his so acting; he might, indeed, achieve much the same result without actual armed attack. Others may surely feel with greater force that where national security is involved it is not enough to rest upon a disputed balance of probability.

We in Great Britain had to answer much the same question for ourselves. I have no doubt that, at the price of allowing Hitler to work his will in Europe, we could at any time in the last few years have temporarily reached an understanding between the British Commonwealth and the German Reich.

But, quite apart from the morality of any such arrangement, what would have been the assurance of its durability?

The lust for power is like a cancer that must constantly extend its ravages, and with all the experience that we have had I have no doubt in my own mind that any such arrangement would only have served to establish Hitler in a position of still greater strength to attack the British Commonwealth at his own selected moment. And certainly no pact or treaty ever made with Hitler, who has broken nearly every international promise he has ever made, would either have been or be worth any more than all the others made in all good faith by his European victims.

I am not surprised, therefore, that the overwhelming sense of your people should be to reject the new dispensation that with all its inevitable consequences Hitler seeks to impose upon the world.

It is sometimes suggested that the evil things against which we strive are less black than they appear. We are but witnessing to-day—so runs the argument—one of those titanic outbursts of human energy that since the dawn of history have blazed the path of progress. As then, so now. Time will purge the dross until from the ashes new truth and new beauty spring.

Such a judgment takes no account of the stark realities with which we are faced. This struggle is a mortal clash of two philosophies and we only delude ourselves if we suppose that the civilisation we share with you could survive a Nazi victory. It is not only with physical invasion that you or I are concerned, but with a spiritual invasion which, if permitted, would work greater havoc than all the tons of high explosive that it is in the power of the German Air Force to unload.

For human society is ultimately subject to the same law that in the individual sphere makes it impossible for any man to keep his soul alive if he consciously permits his life to reflect contradictory ideals.

[22396]

B 2

That, then, is why we are at war—to save our freedom and the world's freedom from being murdered as it has been murdered in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France. We will never accept Hitler's "New Order," which is in truth a reversion to the old order before men were civilised, and which would paralyse them again with the chains of brutal, selfish and material force.

We reject it because, as the President finely said on the 6th January, we prefer that conception of moral order, based on noble human qualities, that Hitler would destroy, by which nations and men can grow to full stature through service freely given to the common good.

And so the principal war aim of my people and of those who are fighting with us is to win this life-and-death struggle for the cause of human freedom.

But even the achievement of victory would be Dead Sea fruit unless we could also achieve that which must be the greatest peace aim—of securing the world, so far as it is within human power to do so, against a repetition of this tragedy.

Mr. Churchill, in a moving passage at the end of one of the volumes of the *World Crisis* said: "Merciful oblivion draws its veils; the crippled limp away; the mourners fall back into the sad twilight of memory. New youth is here to claim its rights and the perennial stream flows forward even in the battle zone as if the tale were all a dream. Is this the end? Is it to be merely a chapter in a cruel and senseless story? Will our children bleed and gasp again in devastated lands?"

These questions demand an answer to-day even more insistently than when they were first asked twenty years ago. For one large attempt at a general resettlement has crashed in ruins and left pieces to be put together under conditions of far greater difficulty.

This is not the time to appraise the several elements which have conspired to defraud the deepest hopes of men. It may be argued that the authors of the Treaty of Versailles were overburdened with political problems to the detriment of the economic. But if so they are not the only people who have made mistakes. We must all acknowledge part of the responsibility for failure and, if we may, learn wisdom from it.

And when this great battle has been won, the nations which have preserved or regained their freedom will have a sovereign opportunity to show what freedom means and what it can do for the welfare of mankind.

It is not possible now to draw detailed plans for the future structure of the community of nations. These must naturally await discussion in free council by those concerned. But we are already in a position to see the basis on which agreement must be founded.

Nations, like individuals, can only exist in freedom and security if they are prepared to co-operate for mutual economic welfare and, if need be, for mutual defence. In the economic sphere, indeed,

everything depends upon such co-operation. But no party to such an association as we picture will be ambitious to dominate its partners. Every nation, great or small, will have its place and make its own contribution.

Moreover, past experience teaches that a stable international order must admit of ordered change in the relations between States. Just as the liberty of the individual must have regard to the needs of the community, so must every nation in future accept its obligations to the general family of nations.

Rights, whether personal or national, are always morally linked with duties. The spirit that impels the good citizen to give willing service in one form or another to the State will imply for the nation a readiness in both the political and economic spheres to consider the welfare of its neighbours.

We, for our part, are prepared to join hands with any State which genuinely seeks the peace and prosperity of the world by loyally observing its engagements and by ensuring individual liberty within its borders.

It will be of no value to force unwanted associations upon unwilling nations. We must rather try to create conditions, political and economic, in which there may grow among the peoples themselves a real sense of their community of interest.

In the British Commonwealth of Nations our experience has taught us that nations differing greatly in numbers and wealth, in race and social structure, can yet freely associate together. What has been possible for them is not impossible for others, and the British Commonwealth, which, by the quality of its resolution, is the bastion of world defence to-day, may well by its geographical dispersion become the bridge of greater world unity to-morrow.

In many respects the world must be treated in future as a single whole. Since the last war we have seen an increasing difficulty in securing the distribution of the world's abundance, both within and across national frontiers, with adverse effect upon the workers' standard of living everywhere.

We had hoped to see the vision of plenty banishing the spectre of scarcity; but what, in fact, we have seen has been the failure of men to exchange with their fellow-men the abundant products of both farm and factory.

When, therefore, victory has been won, it must be our aim to promote the common interest in the greatest possible interchange of goods and services. Problems involving common needs can only be solved by common action. We see the urgent need for economic co-operation and we are ready to take part in plans to promote it on a world-wide scale. Our aim will be prosperity justly shared.

Even now we are making plans to remedy the impoverishment which must follow in the train of war. We are arranging to establish stocks of food and raw materials which can be released as soon as we can be sure that they will be used for this work of healing and not for our destruction.

This business of rebuilding after the war will be a task far beyond the strength of any single country. Great Britain is resolved to do her utmost, but it is clear that if the world is to be brought back to health after so devastating a sickness it will only be by the united action of all men and all nations of goodwill.

It will not be easy, for we may be very sure that the upheaval now convulsing nations will not leave things as they were. The new world is being born of bitter suffering and the problems of peace will in many ways be more difficult than those of war. New needs will demand new remedies and there will be room alike for all the courage and imagination of youth and all the clear thinking of experience that can be rallied to the task.

In this war Great Britain seeks no selfish end. Its immediate cause, as in 1914, was a German breach of treaty on the one hand and the fulfilment of treaty by Great Britain on the other. The ultimate cause was Germany's lust for world power and the concentration of her resources for the single purpose of military conquest.

Therefore, it must be our aim in the present war to convince the people of Germany that these traditional ambitions and methods do not pay.

One of the greatest tragedies this time is that for years German youth has been impelled by its rulers to the pursuit of spurious ideals and the worship of false gods. The gulf that has thus been dug between them and our own younger generations will take time to bridge. And, therefore, after the war is over and until we can be satisfied of Germany's co-operation, I can hardly doubt that the nations resolved to preserve both peace and freedom must needs retain sufficient armed strength to make their will effective.

I dare to hope that in this, as in other matters, our two peoples will appreciate the immense responsibility that will jointly rest upon them; and that, in the words of Pascal, "we may combine justice and power, making what is just strong, and what is strong just." So may the spirit of our co-operation deserve and win the support of all other peoples like-minded with ourselves to strengthen the foundations of world society.

Thus only will it be possible to ensure that neither Germany nor any other nation shall revert, or have any reason to revert, to those policies which have plunged Europe into five wars within the last eighty years.

I have not spoken to you to-night about the fortunes of war as they may be, in whatever field, during the coming months, and of what the future may hold for us of good or ill. Nor of the flapping purpose of the Italian people following the rout of Mussolini's legions in Africa and Albania, where a small country has once again written history in letters of gold for all the world to read. Nor have I spoken of that particular threat to the passage across the ocean highways on which our war effort, and your great reinforcement of it, rests.

Certainly we do not minimise its gravity or shut our eyes to the fact that it is here Hitler will put forth his greatest effort. Our

experience, however, shows that while in the coming months these attacks may cause us grave losses, our defensive methods are sound provided they can be developed with adequate strength and speed.

In the next few critical months it will, as I see it, be a race between the mounting total of our shipping losses and the increase in defensive weapons that will reduce them below the danger level.

I have no doubt, with the help you will be able to give, of our ability to win this race.

I have preferred to talk to you of other matters that were in my mind, the more so since you heard the Prime Minister himself some weeks ago make a speech which once more stamped him as a born leader of men determined to be free.

There is, however, one thing more I would like to say. The question which I find most constantly on the lips of my American friends is: "When will Hitler invade Britain?" The question is vital, for Hitler can sprawl across Continents where he will; but unless he can reduce that small island in the North Sea, which is the cradle of the British race, the end he seeks eludes him. And he knows better perhaps than we do that, provided we can hold, as we surely shall, his dreams are doomed.

When, then, will he put it to the test? For many months people in more countries than yours or mine have been asking the same question. I daresay Hitler has been asking it of himself, and therefore you will hardly expect me to answer it. But if you ask me, "Can such an invasion succeed?" or, in other words, "Will all the help we are planning to send to Britain arrive too late?" then both my head and my heart join to tell you with all the conviction born of my knowledge of how British people feel and of being a member of the War Cabinet since its formation, that the answer is a confident and unhesitating "No!"

I base this belief not only upon all the preparations for defence which have been forging ahead night and day since Dunkirk; not only upon the tireless devotion with which the Navy, Army and Air Force—yes, and men and women throughout the length and breadth of the country—have been fitting themselves to do their duty in the ordeal they know they may have to face on any day and at any hour; nor on the generous help that you have given and are giving, and that, as Hitler's desperate bid to prevent it is brought under control, will reach our shores in steadily increasing volume.

These all play a great part, but there is something more which it is not easy to reduce to words. It may be expressed by what an Englishman wrote to an American friend after the first great onslaught from the air: "There is complete absence of hysteria everywhere, and only the lovely growth of friendly behaviour."

A woman in a country village writes: "We are expecting invasion soon, and we are told that if they get as far as this we have to 'stay put.' It won't be easy, but it's going to be done. We aren't going to hamper our men by cluttering up the roads."

A London woman warned to leave her house on account of a time-bomb lying near by declared: "The landlord has tried to turn me out; bailiffs have tried to get me out; I'm damned if Hitler's going to do it."

One gets a glimpse of it in the words of an airman whose leg had been amputated and who in a brief interval of returning consciousness said: "It takes a lot to kill a man from Stoke-on-Trent."

I could multiply these stories, and you have no doubt heard others. At some we laugh, but our laughter is not always far from tears. But they may explain why I feel able to tell you with a conviction that is unshakable that the British people will not be unworthy of the cause by which they stand.

There is, however, one thing more I would like to say. The question which I find most constantly on the lips of my American friends is: "When will Hitler invade Britain?" The question is vital, for Hitler can spread across continents where he will, but unless he can reduce that small island in the North Sea, which is the cradle of the British race, the end he seeks eludes him. And he knows better perhaps than we do that, provided we can hold, as we surely shall, his dreams are doomed.

When, then, will he put to the test? For many months people in more countries than yours or mine have been asking the same question. I dare say Hitler has been asking it of himself, and therefore you will hardly expect me to answer it. But if you ask me: "Can such an invasion succeed?" or, in other words, "Will all the help we are planning to send to Britain arrive too late?" then both my head and my heart join to tell you with all the conviction born of my knowledge of how British people feel and of being a member of the War Cabinet since its formation, that the answer is a confident and unhesitating "No."

I base this belief not only upon all the preparations for defence which have been going ahead night and day since Dunkirk, not only upon the tireless devotion with which the Navy, Army and Air Force—yes, and men and women throughout the length and breadth of the country—have been fitting themselves to do their duty in the event they know they may have to face on any day and at any hour; nor on the generous help that you have given and are giving, and which as Hitler's desperate bid to prevent it is brought under control, will reach our shores in steadily increasing volume.

These all play a great part, but there is something more which it is not easy to reduce to words. It may be expressed by what an Englishman wrote to an American friend after the first great onslaught from the air: "There is complete absence of hysteria everywhere, and only the lovely growth of friendly behaviour." A woman in a country village writes: "We are expecting invasion and we are told that if they get as far as this we have to evacuate. It won't be easy, but it's going to be done. We aren't going to hamper ourselves."



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

AUSTRALIAN LEGATION,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Was.N.C.No.105/41

March 20th, 1941

Dear Department,

— We enclose herewith full text of speech
by the American Ambassador to Great Britain,
Mr. J. G. Winant, on 18th March 1941, which you
may not have received from another source.

Yours sincerely,

CHANCERY.
[Signature]

Department of External Affairs,
Canberra, A.C.T.

comm
off 10
National Archives of Australia

2
NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

MARCH 18, 1941
No. 108

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE JOHN G. WINANT, AMERICAN
AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN, AT THE PILGRIM'S
LUNCHEON ON TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 1941.

The Pilgrim's luncheon gives me the first opportunity to express formally and publicly my deep appreciation of the extraordinary welcome that I have received since my arrival in England. I realize that in honoring me you wish to do honor to my country but I would like to say that your personal kindness to me in doing it will always be cherished and remembered. I hope that I may be able to convey to the American people some measure of the warmth and sincerity you have shown their representative. The policies which draw your country and mine more closely together, in face of a common peril are policies to which the American people as a whole have solemnly committed themselves. I shall of course do what little lies within my power to carry out those policies, but it is the great mass of American people, working in the factories and in the shipyards and on the farms, who are building the arsenals and the granaries for Democracy's defense. It is they who with their labor and resources will provide the tools--the ships, the planes, the guns, the ammunition and the food--for all those here and everywhere--hic et ubique, as it is written on the Pilgrims' crest--who defend with their lives freedom's frontiers. The American people have now girded themselves to provide these things with the utmost speed, in the greatest volume, and with all the skill at their command.

At different periods of history it has fallen to the lot of one nation or group of nations rather than another to guard and defend the frontiers of freedom and civilization. Each nation or group of nations to which that lot has fallen, has gained from it its finest traditions and most enduring heritage. Nations, like individuals, derive greatness from deeds which benefit not themselves alone but all mankind. It was England's proud privilege to give to the world Magna Carta--the conception of due process and equal protection of the law, a conception cherished today by free men everywhere. It was America's privilege to give to the world the Declaration of Independence of which Abraham Lincoln said, it was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the mother land, but that sentiment in the declaration which gave liberty, not only to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men and that all would have an equal chance. Today I believe that the British people are happy to recognize that the ideas embodied in the Declaration of Independence were the ideas of Chatham and Burke as well as of Washington and Jefferson, and that those ideas helped to create not only the American republic but the British commonwealth of free nations. It was the privilege of France, notwithstanding the excesses of the revolution, to give undying meaning to the words, "liberty, fraternity, equality"--words which will forever ring in the ears of those who fight in freedom's cause.

But

But I would not have you believe that I think that the cause of freedom is the cause of any one nation or group of nations. The cause of freedom is the cause of all men everywhere. The history of freedom is the history of civilized man, to which all nations, not excepting the nations now held enthralled by the dictators, have in the past made notable contributions. Today it is the honor and destiny of the British people to man the bridgehead of humanity's hopes. It is their privilege to stand against ruthless and powerful dictators who would destroy the lessons of two thousand years of history. It is your destiny to say to them, here you shall not pass. You have said so little--you have done so much. It is all part of a soldier's faith--to have known great things and to be content with silence. Never in any struggle between barbarism and civilization has so much been at stake. Nazism has called into question every tenet in the faith of civilized man. It has refused to recognize the dignity of man as a human individual. It has deliberately and ruthlessly denied to man, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and equality before the law. The world has known tyranny before, but never tyranny more cruel and absolute or as relentlessly organized. For Nazism has stolen and run amok with the great inventions of free and inquiring minds, and has set about using them not to liberate but to enslave the human spirit.

Peace-loving peoples are slow to believe that others are plotting their destruction and the obliteration of everything they hold dear. But once aroused to the dangers, once convinced that they cannot live in peace with those bent on their destruction, tolerant and peace-loving peoples have within them latent resourcefulness, energy and fortitude that tyranny can neither match nor master. In the struggle against the Nazis, the people of Britain hold the front line but they do not stand isolated and alone. Your Dominions and your Colonies are mustering their forces to bring you ever-increasing aid. America, as President Roosevelt said last Saturday night, has gone into action. It is mobilizing with ever-growing speed its tremendous resources to make available to you the sinews of war. On every continent, in every country, on every island--wherever there are men and women who value freedom and love liberty,--you have friends and allies. Your magnificent resistance has not only moved other democracies into action, it has given new hope and new courage to the Czechs, the Poles, the Dutch, the Danes, the Norwegians, the Belgians and the French. Even today throughout the continent of Europe there are legions who yearn for your victory, which means freedom for them as well as for you.

The great mass of common men the world over are not deceived by the Nazis' talk of a new order. They realize that there is no order or security in tyranny. They want what the British people want. They want what the American people want. They want a friendly, civilized world of free peoples in which Christian virtues and moral values are not spurned as decadent and outmoded. A world where honest work is recognized and a man can own himself. They have not lost their faith in individual liberty and the democratic way of life. They are not content to be deprived of those freedoms which they know to be essential to the welfare of man. They desire freedom of speech and expression. They desire freedom to worship God in

accordance

accordance with their own conscience. They desire freedom from want, or if I may borrow the words used by your Prime Minister in a broadcast to America spoken more than two years ago, they desire a world of increasing hope and enjoyment for the common man, the world of honored tradition and expanding science. Lastly they desire freedom from the fear of armed aggression. They know that those freedoms cannot be had in a world dominated by totalitarian tyranny. They know that those freedoms can be won only by your victory. The free peoples of the world have come to realize that the enslavement of one nation is a threat to the liberty of all nations. This is the significance of the world situation, clearer today than ever before. The peoples of the world were not, and are not destined for subjugation to the will of others. There is no people or race charged with the responsibility or endowed with the ability to dominate the world.

But we must recognize that the well-being of men and of nations has become interwoven with the well-being of other men and other nations in a degree that would have been inconceivable a few short decades ago. A much greater degree of cooperation is required between men and between nations than was necessary before the days when the engine and the dynamo came to influence our lives. That cooperation can give to the great mass of men and women a higher standard of living than our forefathers would have ever dreamed possible. While we have accepted the machine, we have not always learned to cooperate with one another to make the machine the servant and not the master of mankind. Never has man been able to live unto himself alone, but never has it been so necessary for man to live and work and cooperate with his fellow men as it is today.

In an interdependent world men must cooperate, dominate or perish. Fear that their neighbors may seek to dominate them has caused too many men to think that they should dominate their neighbors. It has been that fear in the past which has too frequently blinded men to their common interests, and has set class against class, and nation against nation. It is that fear which is the root-cause of the counter-revolution--the effort of the few to impose by force their will upon the many--a fear that has brought so much grief to our generation. It is that fear of other men and other nations which dictators and demagogues have exploited not to give men their freedom but to enslave them. It is that fear that the cooperation of free nations alone can and will overcome.

The road ahead is hard. The lost years are gone. A new spirit is abroad. Free peoples are again cooperating to win a free world and no tyranny can frustrate their hopes. Those who now suffer and die in this effort do so for the common good of the free peoples of the earth who shall follow after them, and who, with the help of God, shall build from these sacrifices a citadel of freedom so strong that force may never again seek its destruction.

So far as your people and our people are concerned, I hope that we may work together in the spirit of the moving words which your Poet Laureate, Mr. John Masefield, addressed to me on my coming to England. May I read them to you?

Two

Two with like laws and language should be friends.
Whatever enmities have marred a past,
A future with goodwill may make amends
And build a new world happier than the last.
Your coming and your friendship are a cheer.
If yours and ours will but understand,
Earth's future children will not live in fear,
Nor deed of spirit die by deed of hand.

May we help one another to build a new world happier than
the last so that earth's future children will not live in fear.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

JANUARY 30, 1941
No. 44

THE REMARKS OF THE NEWLY APPOINTED AMBASSADOR OF
GREAT BRITAIN THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE VISCOUNT
HALIFAX, K.G., UPON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION
OF HIS LETTERS OF CREDENCE, JANUARY 24, 1941.

Mr. President:

In handing you to-day the Royal Letter accrediting me as His Majesty's Ambassador to the United States, I am instructed by The King, my August Sovereign and Master, to convey to you his friendly greetings and to express his earnest hope for the happiness and prosperity of the United States.

The sudden death of my distinguished predecessor, the Marquess of Lothian, deprived Great Britain of a representative who knew and loved the United States of America, and who had laboured unceasingly to draw still more close the ties which unite our two countries. His Majesty's Government are gratified to know that his labours were not unfruitful.

In these heroic and tragic days, when it is the privilege of my country to be the champion against brutal wrong-doing of all that the American and British nations hold most dear, my Sovereign has deemed it expedient to entrust to me, as a member of His War Cabinet, the task which the late Ambassador had so worthily discharged.

Following his example, and in accordance with my instructions, I shall do all in my power to maintain and strengthen the close relations which now for many years have so happily existed between Great Britain and the United States. I know that in this important task I shall receive your support, Mr. President, and that of your Administration.

I take up my office at a time when the help which the people of the United States are giving to the people of Great Britain assumed an ever-increasing importance. That assistance has already been invaluable, and its continuance as your nation speedily develops its unrivalled industrial strength, will assuredly secure the triumph of the cause on which you no less than we are resolved.

In conclusion I would say how deeply I appreciate the honour of representing His Majesty in the United States. I have been a visitor here before, and I welcome the opportunity thus afforded to me of acquiring a more intimate knowledge of this great people whose qualities and achievements I have already learnt to respect.

The

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY TO THE REMARKS OF THE
NEWLY APPOINTED AMBASSADOR OF GREAT BRITAIN
THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE VISCOUNT HALIFAX, K.G.
UPON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF HIS
LETTERS OF CREDENCE, JANUARY 24, 1941.

Mr. Ambassador:

I am delighted, Mr. Ambassador, to welcome you to Washington and to receive from your hands the Letters which accredit you, a member of the British War Cabinet, as His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States.

I greatly appreciate the friendly personal greeting and the expression of good wishes for the United States which you have just conveyed to me from His Britannic Majesty, and I take this occasion to reaffirm the warm friendly feeling of myself and of the American people for the Government and people of Great Britain and of the whole British Commonwealth of Nations.

The tragic and untimely death of your distinguished predecessor, Lord Lothian, came as a profound shock to all of us who had been privileged to know him. He had deeply impressed us all with his sincere friendship for the United States and with his untiring efforts toward closer understanding between English-speaking peoples.

Great Britain and the United States have long been linked by intimate bonds of blood and friendship. I feel confident, Mr. Ambassador, that your presence in the United States will increasingly strengthen these strong ties between our two countries.

Let me assure you that in all your work here you may always count upon my full cooperation and the cooperation of the various agencies of this Government. I want to assure you further of our firm determination to continue on an ever-increasing scale our assistance to Great Britain and to make available munitions and supplies now flowing from the rapidly-expanding industrial facilities of the United States.

TELEPHONE
TELEGRAMS
CABLE ADDRESS

BERA 31.
"PRINTER," CANBERRA.
"CLERK" CANBERRA.



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

PRIME MINISTER,
Canberra, A.C.T.,

L. 17/3/4

4 SEP 1940

SECRET.

Dear Sir,

I desire to refer again to your secret letter of August, 1940, in regard to the Pan American Air Service and the general question of air services in the Pacific.

Your advice that there is now a reasonable prospect of Fiji being included as a port of call on the route of the Pan American Service has been noted with interest. I look forward to receiving the report of Mr. Gatty and Captain Burgess on the suitability of Fiji for this purpose.

It is gratifying to know that the presence of Captain Johnston in New Zealand recently at a meeting of the Tasman Air Commission presented an opportunity for a discussion with yourself and the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom on the whole question of air services in the Pacific. I agree that the steps taken by us to alter the timetables of the Tasman service including the provision of a special return trip each fortnight makes the running by Pan American Airways of a yacht between Noumea and Australia unnecessary. It is possible, however, that Pan American Airways may persevere with this proposal for the purpose of propaganda in support of an extension of their air service to Australia. The recent advice that a party of passengers from Pan American Airways Service including certain Directors of that Company proposed to continue their journey from Noumea to Australia by this means confirms our fears in this regard, but happily it has been possible to arrange for the party to proceed to New Zealand and thence by the Tasman Service to Australia. I appreciate your ready co-operation in extending an invitation to the party to visit New Zealand as the guests of your Government.

As I informed you previously, my Government proposes to adhere to its attitude of refusing to discuss with the Pan American Company the question of landing rights in Australia and will endeavour to have any such discussions conducted with the Government of the United States of America with a view to securing reciprocal rights for a British Service across the Pacific to use United States territory. In this connection our Minister in Washington (Mr. Casey) recently informed us that the President of Pan American Airways had called on him and indicated the possibility of discontinuance of the Company's service unless they could extend to Australia either from Noumea or from Auckland. Although we doubt the bona fides of the threat of discontinuance we have advised Mr. Casey that any negotiations for landings in Australia must be conducted between the Governments, but the Commonwealth Government would grant landing rights here if requested by the Government of the United

The Right Honourable
the Prime Minister of New Zealand,
WELLINGTON.

States /-

2.

States conditional upon similar rights being granted for landings in Hawaii and American territory when requested for a British service. Should the Government of the United States take any steps in this direction, I will of course inform you immediately.

It is most probable that the Pan American Directors now en route to visit New Zealand and Australia will raise these matters with one or both of our Governments during their visits. We will keep you fully informed of any discussions we may have with the Pan American representatives on these matters. I should be grateful if you would similarly advise us of any discussions at your end.

May I take this opportunity of reminding you that we have not yet received any report of the survey flights which it was agreed at the Wellington Conference in 1938 should be made by Tasman Empire Airways and which I understand have, in fact, been made as far as Suva. In view of our lively interest in this whole matter at present, I would be glad to receive any such report as soon as possible so that we may be fully aware of the position in regard to facilities provided or available for a British service across the Pacific towards Canada.

I am sending copy of this letter to the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom at Canberra and suggest that you might make a copy available also to the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in New Zealand.

Yours faithfully,

Copy to:-

Min. and Dept. C.A.
Dept. Defence
" E.A.
P.M.G.'s Dept.

R. G. MENZIES

Prime Minister.

SECRET.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

Referred, by direction, in connection
with previous correspondence.

J. Strahan

Secretary,
Prime Minister's Department.

- 5 SEP 1940



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

CANBERRA.

30 AUG 1940

My dear Minister for External Affairs,

I refer to your letter of 19th August on the question of the grant by the United Kingdom of facilities for United States' military and civil aircraft in the West Indies.

I concur with your suggestion that the opportunity could be taken to remind the United Kingdom Government of the interest of the Commonwealth in the proposed British Trans-Pacific Service and the necessity for the operation of this Service of landing rights in American territory (the island of Hawaii and the American mainland), and that it could be suggested to the United Kingdom Government that when a favourable opportunity arises the grant of landing rights in American territory for the proposed British Trans-Pacific Service might be raised with the United States Government.

Yours sincerely,

Atkinson

The Hon J. McEwen, M.P.,
Minister for External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

*for draft telegram
to U.K. Govt.*

*The Secretary
Referred by direction*

Rory

2-9-40 Pte. Sec.

*better held in view
of later developments
(see file and letter on
Christmas Island)*

*PB RS
Jm*

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

30 AUG 1940

My dear Minister for External Affairs,

I refer to your letter of 19th August on the question of the grant by the United Kingdom of facilities for United States' military and civil aircraft in the West Indies.

I concur with your suggestion that the opportunity could be taken to remind the United Kingdom Government of the interest of the Commonwealth in the proposed British Trans-Pacific Service and the necessity for the operation of this Service of landing rights in American territory (the island of Hawaii and the American mainland), and that it could be suggested to the United Kingdom Government that when a favourable opportunity arises the grant of landing rights in American territory for the proposed British Trans-Pacific Service might be raised with the United States Government.

Yours sincerely,

The Hon J. McEwen, M.P.,
Minister for External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

500.4
ASW:AJS

CANBERRA, A.C.T.,
19th August, 1940.

My dear Minister for Air,

I refer to the letter addressed to me by your late predecessor on 8th August last regarding the concession by the United Kingdom of certain facilities for United States' military and civil aircraft in the West Indies.

In my view it would be inappropriate to attempt to use, as suggested, the granting of these facilities as a means of acquiring reciprocal facilities for British aircraft in United States territory. In the first place it appears from the information we have received that the assent of the United Kingdom Government to the United States' request for facilities in the West Indies has already been notified. Further, the concession of these facilities has, in my opinion, obvious advantages from the British point of view in the present circumstances, and it would be prejudicial to Anglo-American relations to attempt to make the arrangement anything in the nature of a bargain.

At the same time I recognise that it is an important objective of our air policy to secure landing facilities for British aircraft in United States territory (I have just seen for example the report of the Assistant Director-General of Civil Aviation on his recent discussions on New Zealand on this point). If you concur, therefore, I would propose to use the opportunity to remind the United Kingdom Government of our continuing interest in the question and to suggest that it should be borne in mind for mentioning at favourable opportunities without, however, raising it as a specific issue with the United States authorities.

Yours sincerely,

The Hon. A. W. Fadden, M.P.,
Minister for Air,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

R/S . 24/8 9



23 AUG 1940

MINISTER FOR AIR.

CANBERRA. A.C.T.

8th August, 1940

The Hon. J. McEwen, M. E.,
Minister for External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

My dear Minister for External Affairs,

I am enclosing, as promised, a copy of a Minute sent me by the Director of Civil Aviation, which I discussed with you yesterday.

I agree with the suggestion of the Director General that, the fact that Great Britain has given certain facilities to United States military aircraft, and also civil facilities to Pan American Airways at Trinidad and Jamaica, seems to make the present an opportune time for the United Kingdom, on behalf of the British Governments concerned, to ask the United States Administration to grant landing facilities for British aircraft in United States Territory, when later it may be desired to start a British Trans-Pacific Airline between Australasia and Canada.

I do not think it would be wise at the same time to raise the matter of granting Pan American landing rights in Australia, though naturally if the reciprocal rights we desire were granted us by the United States there would be no objection to granting Pan American Airways the right to continue their route to Australia.

As I understand you agree with me on these points, I will leave it to you to draft a cable making this suggestion to the Foreign Office.

Yours sincerely,

*The Secretary,
Referred by direction
13.8.40. Pte. Sec.*

J. Tanbarn

CANBERRA. A.C.T.

8th August, 1940

The Hon. J. McEwen, M. P.,
Minister for External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

My dear Minister for External Affairs,

I am enclosing, as promised, a copy of a Minute sent me by the Director of Civil Aviation, which I discussed with you yesterday.

I agree with the suggestion of the Director General that, the fact that Great Britain has given certain facilities to United States military aircraft, and also civil facilities to Pan American Airways at Trinidad and Jamaica, seems to make the present an opportune time for the United Kingdom, on behalf of the British Governments concerned, to ask the United States Administration to grant landing facilities for British aircraft in United States Territory, when later it may be desired to start a British Trans-Pacific Airline between Australasia and Canada.

I do not think it would be wise at the same time to raise the matter of granting Pan American landing rights in Australia, though naturally if the reciprocal rights we desire were granted us by the United States there would be no objection to granting Pan American Airways the right to continue their route to Australia.

As I understand you agree with me on these points, I will leave it to you to draft a cable making this suggestion to the Foreign Office.

Yours sincerely,

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

Australian Legation,
Washington, D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

Was. No. 134/40

June 7th, 1940

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith
the reply of the President to the message to him
from the Prime Minister communicated to me in the
Prime Minister's unnumbered telegram, of May 26th.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Sgd) R. G. CASEY

Copy to Min. E.A.

Orig. Copy & encl. to
PRIME MINISTER
26/7/40.

The Minister for External Affairs,
Canberra, A.C.T.,
Australia.

JKL

Handwritten notes and signatures in the bottom right corner, including a large 'J' and some illegible text.



OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

OTTAWA

14 June, 1940.

No. E.A. 45/40.

Memorandum to
The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
Canberra, A.C.T.

Anti-British propaganda in certain American periodicals and newspapers has been attracting considerable attention in the Canadian press and Parliament during the past month. Criticism is levelled in particular against the Chicago "Tribune" and the "Saturday Evening Post". Requests have been made to the Government for the banning of these publications and the Ottawa "Journal" conceived the ingenious idea of cutting off the "Tribune" from its supplies of paper pulp which it derives exclusively from mills that it owns in Canada, but a more effective manner of dealing with this problem is that suggested by the weekly "Saturday Night" which suggests that the Canadian people have the solution in their own hands. It points out that no Canadian is under any obligation to buy or read an anti-British periodical. Nor is he under any compulsion to advertise in or to support or countenance in any way such a periodical. He is free to write to the editor giving reasons for his disapproval. A heavy reduction in the sales of these publications in Canada would be of more value than an official ban.

.....

I enclose cutting..

Noël Deschamps
Official Secretary.

R/S
J.M.M.

15
Sally
J.H.

J
M

Saturday Night June 7th 1940.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

OTTAWA

14 June, 1940.

What Canadians Read

MANY weeks ago, before the war had developed into its present desperate stage—and indeed many months ago, before there was any visible war in progress at all,—we drew the attention of our readers to the definitely anti-British tendencies of the *Saturday Evening Post*, the American five-cent weekly which is so extensively circulated in the Dominion. Now that Canadians have been awakened to the nature of the war that they and their Allies are waging, they have become very much more conscious of the insidious influence wielded by this periodical and a few others like it. Editorial utterances in newspapers, expressions in letters to the press and to members of Parliament, indicating strong disapproval of the continued circulation in

Canada of periodicals of this type, have been becoming more and more numerous.

That the Canadian government would be amply justified in using its authority to ban the entry into Canada of a number of anti-British periodicals from the United States, we have not the slightest doubt. On the other hand, there may be diplomatic considerations which would make such a step inadvisable at the present moment. And the fact remains that the Canadian people have it in their own hands to effect what they desire, without Government action. No Canadian is under any compulsion to buy an anti-British periodical, no matter where it may be published. No Canadian is under any compulsion to advertise in, or to support or countenance in any way, any such periodical. Every Canadian is free to write to the editors and publishers of such periodicals, informing them of the reasons for his disapproval. A very heavy reduction in the sales of these periodicals in Canada, effected purely by voluntary action on the part of the Canadian people themselves, would very possibly be of more value than an official ban. It would at any rate show that it was the people, and not merely the Government, of Canada that is deeply offended.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

FOR CABINET

Copy No.
Agenda No.

UNITED STATES' CLAIMS TO CERTAIN
PACIFIC ISLANDS.

In an aide-mémoire of 16th August, 1939, from the United States Department of State to the British Ambassador at Washington it was suggested that British and American claims to a specified list of islands in the Pacific should be the subject of discussion between the two Powers. The United Kingdom Government had previously suggested that the question of sovereignty over these islands should be left in abeyance and that discussions should centre round the uses to which they might be put, for instance, as bases in a Trans-Pacific air service, but the United States has refused to accept this distinction. The United Kingdom Government now proposes to reply to the United States accepting the suggestion that the sovereignty of the islands mentioned, excluding a certain number to which British claims are held to be unquestionable, should be the subject of oral discussions, but suggesting also that these discussions should be postponed until after the war in view of the laborious search required into the history of some of the islands and the necessity of consulting the Dominions.

In the list of islands in the Central Pacific claimed by the United States it seems clear that the most important for American purposes are: (1) Christmas Island (due south of Hawaii); (2) Hull Island in the Phoenix Group (to all the islands of which America lays claim); (3) Nukunono in the Union Group (administered by the New Zealand Government). A recent article in "Foreign Affairs", believed to represent the views of the State Department, stressed Christmas Island and Hull Island as America's main desiderata. In the proposed British note to the United States, Nukunono is included in the list of eleven islands to which the British title is regarded as unassailable. Christmas and Hull Islands are included amongst those which it is agreed should be the subject of discussion.

The opinion of the Foreign Office is that talks with America would probably result in handing over either Hull or Christmas - preferably the former - and the abandonment of the United States' claims to the other islands.

The importance of the islands in question, apart from their possible use in colonisation, lies partly in their strategic position and partly in their value as landing bases for Trans-Pacific air services. At present, the most important strategic consideration is probably the desirability that America should be involved as deeply as possible in the security of the islands of the south and west Pacific. As regards air services, the Wellington Defence Conference decided last year that the importance of the British islands as bargaining counters to obtain landing rights in American territory was limited, in view of the fact that Noumea was already in use as a base for Pan-American Airways. Moreover, the United States has repeatedly refused to allow the question of the use of islands, e.g., as air bases, to enter into discussions of sovereignty.

It is probable, therefore, that no useful purpose would be served by placing obstacles in the way of the development by the United States of certain of the islands in question.

There is apparently no possibility of British resources being available during war time for the further development of this area or the organisation of regular Trans-Pacific air services. It is also obvious that it is preferable that development of the Central Pacific should be by the United States rather than by other Powers.

President Roosevelt, who took a personal interest in the settlement of the Canton and Enderbury question, made the point in 1938 that it should be the common objective of both the British and American Governments to prevent the occupation of these islands by the Japanese, and expressed his confidence that the settlement of the problem would have a happy effect on Anglo-American relations besides contributing a salutary warning to Japan.

In view of these considerations it is doubtful whether the United Kingdom Government's proposal to suggest to the United States that the question of sovereignty be shelved until the end of the war would be in the best interests of British relations generally with America especially in the Pacific area.

Further, it has been suggested by Captain P.G. Taylor that retention of British sovereignty over the islands Malden, Starbuck and Vostok, of the Line Group, might have some advantage for Australia if ever the question arose of developing a new Trans-Pacific route via Tahiti and Clipperton Island in order to avoid the Hawaiian Islands. While such a proposal must clearly be a long way in the future, it would seem desirable, by encouraging direct discussions with the United States of America as soon as possible, at least to avert the risk of a fait accompli in the shape of some American occupation of the islands in question designed to forestall the British claim. In view of what happened with Howland, Baker and Jarvis Islands in 1937 and of subsequent American activities in the Phoenix Group, such a possibility cannot be ignored.

It is suggested, therefore, that the United Kingdom Government be informed that the Commonwealth Government feels that the suggestion for the postponement of discussions until after the war should not be pressed, in spite of the practical objections referred to in the United Kingdom Government's despatch. The following draft telegram in this sense might be despatched:

"Your despatch No.13 of 25th January and telegram No.76. Pacific Islands.

Commonwealth Government, while agreeing to the proposed oral discussions regarding the sovereignty of islands in dispute and reservation of certain islands to which British title regarded as unassailable, feels some doubt whether suggestion for postponement of discussions until end of war, contained in paragraph 4(iii) of your despatch under reference, should be pressed. In our view reasons which would render amicable settlement of the question desirable as soon as possible are following:

(1) Common objective of both British and American Governments to prevent occupation of Pacific islands under dispute by Japanese, stressed by President Roosevelt in regard to Canton and Enderbury Islands question (see your telegram No. 30 of 21st March, 1938.

(2) Necessity as far as possible of avoiding friction between United States and Britain generally and especially in the Pacific area.

(3) Desirability from strategic viewpoint that America should be as deeply involved as possible in the security of the islands in the south and west Pacific.

- 3 -

(4) Risk of a fait accompli in the shape of some American occupation of certain of islands in question designed to forestall British claims.

J. McEWEN
Minister for External Affairs.

26th March, 1940.

Approved by Cabinet-
29/3/40 *RS*



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

S.7155

Air mail - 15.2.40.
Due to arrive - 25.2.40.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

U.S.A.
Relations with United Kingdom

The following item appeared in the Transocean broadcast of 12th February:

"Amsterdam. Now that the first excitement caused by the announcement that the American Assistant Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, will pay a visit to Europe to gather information on the general political and military situation, has died down, the question is being asked, especially in neutral quarters, whether the British Government had been previously informed by Washington of the planned step. The answers to this question vary considerably. The diplomatic correspondent of the London 'Observer' asserts that the British Government was previously informed of Welles' visit but does not state how long ago London received this information. The announcement that the American Government decided to open negotiations with other neutrals apparently came as a complete surprise also to political quarters in London, and the by no means favourable reaction of the British press to the announcement appears to have been spontaneous. In political quarters in the Netherlands some people go as far as to assert that the visit was suggested by England. If this assertion should be true, the indignation expressed by the entire British press at the idea that Roosevelt wished to persuade the Western Powers to reduce their war aims might be regarded merely as roaring bluff, although it is naturally impossible to ascertain whether there is any truth in the assertion. It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that the arguments brought forward by British papers of all party shades, from the 'Daily Herald' to the 'Daily Telegraph' and from the 'Manchester Guardian' to the 'Times', are practically identical. It appears that the comments of all these papers were inspired by the same official source.

"If the Sumner Welles visit to Europe is really due to British initiative, the question naturally arises what may have been the motives of the British Government. While some people believe that the British Government realised that the military victory of the Western Powers is impossible, the more likely explanation would be that London intends to influence American public opinion in favour of the Western Powers. That such a possibility is reckoned with in Dutch political quarters is shown by the fact that practically all the Dutch papers draw a parallel between Colonel House's visit to Europe in the Great War, which, it will be recalled, preceded the United States entry into the war on the side of the Allies. Should Mr. Welles' visit to Europe really have been suggested by London, the comments of British press must be regarded as an attempt to provide a moral alibi for the Western Powers."



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.2312.

-5 FEB 1940 Air Mail 9.1.40.
Due to arrive 19.1.40.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

I enclose:-

- a. Reports from the "Times" correspondent in Washington,
dated 4th January.
- b. RELATIONS WITH UNITED KINGDOM - Note by the "Times"
diplomatic correspondent, dated 7th January.
- c. RELATIONS WITH ARGENTINA - Report on the breakdown
of trade negotiations between the Antarctic
and the United States.

Revised Stirling

WHITEHALL 5422



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.2035

Air mail - 14.11.39.
Due to arrive - 24.11.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED KINGDOM - UNITED STATES

I enclose a note from the "Manchester Guardian" which gives some idea of the type of British lectures at present being delivered in the United States.

cum

Agnes Stirling

British Lecturers in the United States

The latest United States newspapers to reach us tell of the number of English lecturers now in America. Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, the veteran of them all, has now begun his twenty-seventh lecture tour there, and Mr. Cecil Roberts his seventh. Mr. A. Duff Cooper is delivering several lectures. Miss Phyllis Bottome is beginning her third lecture tour, and Mr. I. O. Richards, of Cambridge, is speaking at Harvard and at other learned centres. Mr. Oliver Gogarty, the Irish surgeon and witty writer, is prominent in the New York papers by his speeches and interviews.

Several of our younger poets, including Mr. W. H. Auden, Mr. Christopher Isherwood, and Mr. Richard Aldington are also visiting the United States.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

USA UK
R.1801.

Air Mail
Due to Arrive

29.9.39.
9.10.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

AMERICA.

I enclose a report which appeared in the "Times" on 28th September on American nationals in the United Kingdom, of whom there are 4,000.

It has now been established that 316 of the 1104 persons aboard the "Athenia" when she was sunk by a German submarine were United States citizens. Of the remainder 638 were British, and the rest included Poles, Germans, Czechs and various other nationalities.

CANBERRA, A.C.T.

4th October, 1939.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your notification dated 30th August, 1939, addressed to the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, that you had assumed your duties as His Majesty's Ambassador to the United States, and take this opportunity to wish you, on behalf of the Commonwealth Government, every success during your term of office.

I am with great truth and respect,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's obedient Servant,

(Sgd.) H. S. GULLETT

Minister for External Affairs.

His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador,

British Embassy,

WASHINGTON, D.C.

U.S.A.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 30th, 1939

Sir,

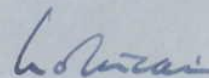
I have the honour to inform you
that I arrived in Washington on the 29th
instant and that I have assumed my duties
as His Majesty's Ambassador to the United
States.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,



The Prime Minister of
The Commonwealth of Australia,
Canberra,
Australia.

THE TIMES FRIDAY JULY 14

THE AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE

UNBIASED OUTLOOK ON EUROPE

LORD LOTHIAN ON HIS TASK

The Pilgrims' farewell dinner to Lord Lothian, who leaves this country shortly to take up his duties as British Ambassador in Washington in succession to Sir Ronald Lindsay, was held at the Hotel Victoria last night. The American Ambassador, Mr. Kennedy, and seven Ambassadors of other nations attended as well as the High Commissioners and official representatives of various parts of the Empire. The 320 guests also included the Lord Chancellor and several members of the Cabinet.

Lord Derby, chairman of the Pilgrims, who presided, read the following telegram from the Duke of Connaught, the president:—

Please express to all Pilgrims present my best wishes and my sincere regret at being unable to be in the chair at to-night's dinner to our guest. I feel sure that Lord Lothian, while he is Ambassador to the United States, will do his utmost to cement the good feeling so happily existent between our two great nations, and I extend to him a very warm welcome on the eve of his departure.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the Pilgrims of the United States, sent the following message, which was read by Sir John Wilson Taylor, hon. secretary of the Pilgrims of Great Britain:—

The Pilgrims of the United States join with the utmost cordiality in greeting the Marquess of Lothian on the occasion of his appointment to be British Ambassador at Washington. No more welcome selection for this great post could have been made in these troubled times. The new Ambassador knows well the United States and its people. He already has a host of personal friends among us. He will receive the heartiest of welcomes when he crosses the Atlantic in his official capacity and undertakes the truly great service for which the British Government has called upon him.

CABINET OF EMPIRE

Mr. Lloyd George, in proposing the health of Lord Lothian, congratulated him on his appointment and the Government on their choice.

No man has had a wider experience or a more thorough training in the tangled problems of modern diplomacy than Lord Lothian, he continued. Over 20 years ago on the recommendation of Lord Milner, a discerning judge of men, Lord Lothian was appointed to the position of confidential private secretary to the Prime Minister of this country at a time when its full strength and that of its vast Empire was engaged in the greatest struggle for freedom and international right ever waged among the turbulent children of men. He had made a close study of our Imperial relations and of foreign affairs before he ever came to my aid in that critical time, and I therefore found him in both these subjects an invaluable assistant in the problems for which I had to seek solution. He helped in the confederation and working arrangements of the first real Cabinet of Empire that has ever been convened from our Dominions and Dependencies to direct common action which affected us all.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE also paid tribute to Lord Lothian for the help he had rendered to the

American Ambassador. It was marvellous what his frankness and energy had done in this way in less than two years.

He had often visited the United States and he always felt 15 years younger when he landed in New York.

Speaking of some impressions of Anglo-American problems he had formed Lord Lothian said, broadly speaking, he thought that people in this country still tended to over-estimate the unity between the two countries because they were but two halves of the English-speaking world, while in the United States the tendency had rather been to over-estimate the differences between them. Most Americans, he felt, do not realize the extent to which we in Britain had become Americanized, in the best sense of that word, in the last 25 years—not merely in the mechanization of our private lives but in our social and democratic life.

THE ROYAL VISIT

There was often a slight sense of surprise on the other side of the Atlantic when Englishmen did not manifest the manners, the hauteur, and the social exclusiveness of the Victorian age. He thought that the visit of their Majesties and their simplicity, naturalness, and humanity in dealing with the constantly changing problems of a long and arduous tour had done a great deal to correct this still lingering impression, and to make Americans realize that we were much more ordinary nineteenth-century folk than we were sometimes thought to be. He desired to add his own tribute of gratitude for the extraordinary welcome which was extended to the King and Queen by every one in the United States from the President and Mrs. Roosevelt to the crowds which showed so clearly the warm-hearted friendliness for which they are famed.

Americans, too, in the past had always been suspicious of British Imperialism. To them it represented the old spirit of George III against which they rebelled. Here, too, he believed, the appearance of the King and Queen in North America, as King and Queen of Canada, enthusiastically welcomed by their independent Canadian subjects, must have brought home to the American public the immense transformation which had taken place in the old British Empire into a Commonwealth of self-governing nations since the War.

In his travels he had gained the impression of one important cause of misunderstanding between public opinion here and in the United States which we ought to realize, because it could be remedied. That was the difference in the practical working of their democratic institutions. In Britain political life centred in the House of Commons. Every political issue was sooner or later brought to the clash of argument and personality in a debate before those who had the power to make and unmake governments. The House of Commons was the real barometer of British political opinion.

One contributory cause to a misreading of our political life in the United States was that there was no Press Gallery for the American and foreign Press in Parliament. They had to apply for a strictly limited number of tickets like ordinary visitors every time they wanted to attend. He believed that in these days it was essential that the real drama of the House of Commons, the assembly which wielded the ultimate power in Britain and which daily cross-examined Ministers on every aspect of public policy, should be made visible and audible daily, as of right, to those who could interpret it in their own language to their own countrymen. The principal difficulty was that of space. He greatly hoped that this deficiency would shortly be remedied, and he understood that there was already a movement in the House of Commons itself to see that proper facilities were provided for the reporting of its proceedings abroad.

A DIFFERENT TECHNIQUE

The political life of the United States, on the other hand, operated in quite a different way. It did not centre in the clash of argument and personalities in high debate in Congress as it did here for the reason that the Executive and the Legislature were independent and coordinate powers, and met in debate at all. Nor was there a question hour. Nor were there

deepest instincts and convictions. It was no use entering into recriminations as to who was responsible for the mess we were in. The truth was that in a shrinking and mechanized world we were faced by new menaces, new problems, which we had never conceived of before. The old remedies would no longer work. We had to find new ones appropriate to the world in which we lived.

AN AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION

He had no idea what conclusion the United States would ultimately reach. But it was to him inconceivable that a great country which had worked so relentlessly and so successfully for the extension of human freedom, which was so independent-minded, which had successfully constructed the first democratic and federal constitution, which fought a civil war under the greatest democratic leader the world had seen to expel slavery and maintain unity, which intervened decisively in the last great struggle for human freedom 22 years ago, should not have a contribution of its own to the solution of these vast problems.

We also should have our own contribution to make, for it was certain that the method by which the modern constitution of the British Commonwealth of Nations had overcome the anarchy of national sovereignties while preserving national freedom, had lessons of its own for mankind. If we each go our own way humbly and in obedience to reason and conscience, exchanging counsel when we could, he had no doubt that these nations, which, with France, had done more for human freedom than any others, would find the way whereby war could be ended on earth and individual and national liberty preserved.

For some years, he thought, Great Britain had been in a condition of confusion and doubt. This was not the time nor the occasion to estimate the mistakes made by British policy since 1920: we must now leave history, which saw events in a perspective denied to us, to decide. But in the last year there was a profound change. Great Britain had once more found itself. We had made up our minds that there could be no future for civilization unless two at least of its basic achievements were preserved—individual freedom and national freedom. We did not believe that there could be any way forward so long as one nation claimed the right to send its secret police into another's country, and to confine its noblest citizens in prison and concentration camps; for being loyal to their own country. Nor did we believe that any true international order could be built except on the foundation that every developed people had the right to autonomy and self-government.

This was not encirclement. It was fidelity to two of the essential corner-stones of civilization itself. Everything else was open to discussion. There were admittedly vast and difficult problems, affecting both politics and economics, access to markets and raw materials, security for a rising standard of living for all, the ending of anarchy and war, which could only be fruitfully solved by honest and frank discussion. But these two principles were essential. Once they were accepted by other nations, he believed the door to settlement would be opened and the risk of war would begin to disappear.

But if these two principles were to be challenged, and challenged by force, he thought this nation had made up its mind to resist their further destruction by force. And in the last year it had certainly done an immense amount to prepare itself for resistance. He hoped that American friends realized this: for he was sure that it was true. And we were certain that in the end moral principle was more powerful than bayonets and guns and that when, in addition, it was backed by bayonets and guns it would inexorably and speedily prevail.

TRIBUTE TO LORD DERBY

MR. KENNEDY, the American Ambassador, in proposing the health of Lord Derby, said it seemed especially fitting that the Pilgrims should bid Lord Lothian God-speed, for he was in spirit a Pilgrim, a man of many voyages. That night celebrated a new westward pilgrimage, a new departure for a man who had travelled a varied road and a far road—Lancashire, South Africa, India. And now America! As an American he was glad that Lord Lothian was going to America. As Englishmen they might well be happy that he was to represent them there.

The circle of Lord Lothian's friends was

CRITICISM OF TREATIES

Fortunately free countries now seem at last to be awakened from their torpor, and shaking off their flabbiness of purpose. As soon as the aggressors realize that their man of easy profit is at an end, they will not face the risk. Recently we have had resounding declarations which display a new firmness. It may be rather late, and there will be much lost ground to gain, but if, even at this late hour, such a resistance is organized as will check the impetus of the attack, the rest will follow. The allure of despotism always ceases when failure appears, so let us therefore see to it that they do, fail.

LORD LOTHIAN, in reply, said that the relations between the United States and Great Britain were more complicated than those between any other two foreign countries. On the one hand there was an underlying unity which springs from the fact that a large part of the population of the United States derives from these islands, that we both speak the same language, are students of the same literature, and are deeply penetrated by the political and legal ideals represented by Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, and free institutions. On the other hand, all this could be very deceptive. There were few countries which as nations were more different. There was the wide gulf caused by the American Revolution, which Americans still vividly remembered but which we tended to forget. There was the fact that much of its population derived from all the other countries of Europe, which made the United States sensitive to any suggestion of special association with Great Britain and anxious to avoid taking sides in European quarrels. There was the central fact that for 150 years our national histories have followed profoundly different courses, both in internal and foreign affairs.

He conceived it, therefore, to be his task, not merely to represent the policy of the British Government to the Administration in Washington and *vice versa*, but to increase that mutual comprehension between the two peoples, which was much better than it used to be, but which was still by no means achieved. Nobody had done more to explain his own country to the British people than Mr. Kennedy, the present

The most common British misinterpretation of the United States lay in the field of external policy. His own impression was that it was a profound mistake to think that the United States was not interested in international affairs to-day. He travelled all over the United States at the beginning of this year and he found a deep concern everywhere. His impression, from talking to all sorts of people, was that public opinion in the United States had become more and more alarmed—as the numerous polls of public opinion had shown—that if a new world war broke out it would be extremely difficult for her, however hard she might try, to keep out indefinitely if she was to protect her own vital interests. Foreign affairs therefore had recently become an issue of vital importance to everybody, to men and women in the Middle West no less than on the seaboard. For they felt that if war came it would not only immediately affect their businesses and their prospects of employment but in the end it might affect their own lives and those of their children.

But if American public opinion was deeply interested in the international situation it certainly looked at it from a very different point of view from ourselves. He did not pretend to be an expert in the subject but he thought we could understand the American point of view best by remembering our own attitude of splendid isolation during most of the last century. So long as the Channel protected us as the Atlantic protected the United States, the first instinct of our people, as it was to-day of the American people, was to keep out of the maelstrom of the wars between the contending nations of Europe. Moreover the United States intervened in Europe with decisive effect some 20 years ago and the outcome had not been such as to encourage them to repeat the experi-

But if the United States, by reason of geography and racial composition and history stood apart from the problems in which, because of propinquity, we were necessarily immersed, he believed that the United States was thinking, and thinking deeply, about the future. He thought it was as concerned as anybody else that a way should be found of preventing these steadily recurring cataclysms from descending again and again, to engulf mankind in violence, hate, and ruin. He found as much serious study and earnest thought about these questions in the United States as he found here at home. They had as much information, perhaps more balanced, information about Europe, than we had and they still had the advantage of standing back a little from the picture and seeing it, perhaps, in better perspective than we did.

It was essential that we should realize that the United States was going to think out these ultimate problems for itself, and by itself, and that it was going to reach somewhat different conclusions from ourselves. We should concede to the United States just the same freedom and independence as we claimed for ourselves. We in this country were not much influenced by foreign opinion and propaganda. Nor were the people of the United States. It was the very core of the democratic faith that each individual, and each nation, had the sole responsibility of deciding about its own policies and acts in its own untrammelled mind and consciences.

What really united all the democracies to-day was not a common policy but the fact that we were all confronted by a challenge to our

LORD DERBY, in reply, said that Mr. Kennedy was a real representative of his country, and if a bit of advice might be given to Lord Lothian it was "Never forget the country to which you belong and never pretend to belong to another country." The American Ambassador excelled in that respect. He was 100 per cent. American and yet he had been able in this country to enter into our life and understand our customs.

** The names of some of those present are on page 17.

the contrast between any less marked to-been, in spite of the them made possible communication. The but it has also knowledge has chiefly for it has shown that peoples do not differ ultimate values, which We have our own es, but on this anti-French formula of eternity. French, and they as French in the modern it is a French con-thinkers from Locke d to the ideas behind out long against it, the major stresses of the major stresses of the return we gave to Parliamentary govern from Montesquieu to elucidate), which all their details by the were practically com-day, before the first were taken. In both hat task of the last to the democratic the aristocratic e resultant institution acy has taken very Britain and France; the failure of other it has made of these less, which has learnt a group apart still hold themselves one of the objects of, should force claim two chief European But the idea of al of liberty are ready, and is expansive, men and English-then themselves they peoples. To force

TIMES FRIDAY JULY 14 1939

the contrast between any less marked to-been, in spite of the them made possible communication. The knowledge has chiefly but it has also for it has shown that peoples do not differ estimate values, which

We have our own es, but on this anni- French formula of ternity.

we have learnt much French, and they as racy in the modern it, is a French con-thinkers from LOCKE to the ideas behind out long against it, st instalment in 1832 the major stresses of a return we gave to parliamentary govern- s from MONTESQUIEU to elucidate), which ll their details by the f the seventeenth and were practically com- day, before the first were taken. In both al task of the last ness the democratic

to the aristocratic e resultant institution acy has taken very Britain and France; ne failure of other , it has made of these tes, which has learnt lesson, a group apart still hold themselves one of the objects of at, should force claim two chief European al of liberty are ready

But the idea of ital, and is expansive. chmen and English- een themselves they er peoples. To force e force; but their ace, and those who e spirit of fraternity,

paredness

made the important hat the Fleet will be s year from a period lasting until approxi- in September. The he Government to be val reservists with the o form the nucleus

The ships in reserve, ingly join the Home which, as already d in August, and in so to participate. It with Army training y will be in a state s for defence during hich is commonly re- ble to international other military

the results of these meetings will be considered and referred to the Minister by the permanent head of the Ministry. This is intended to ensure the rapid settlement of matters of policy and detail. It is difficult to say on first reading whether it is an innovation in departmental practice: it may prove to be the only method of organizing work in which Government departments and voluntary organizations have to cooperate. In any case the idea must surely recommend itself to those in charge of other branches of civil defence. The air raid precautions of London, for example, would certainly benefit from weekly contact between Horseferry House and local organizers. It is little less than fantastic that the vast area and population of London should be cut up piecemeal into artificial administrative divisions for war-time purposes. Air Raid Precautions Officers have been complaining for some time about the lack of personal contact with the Home Office. Here are two good reasons why new methods of consultation and coordination should be tried. The MINISTER OF HEALTH has settled in three days problems which have been before the Ministry for months. Both critics and criticized may feel that they are vindicated. It is now the turn of the Civil Nursing Reserve to receive the attention of the Minister personally in charge of London's casualty service.

The Twopenny Tube

To those who, in the words of the Silurist, "by backward steps would move," a piece of news in this journal yesterday offered a rich chance of comfortable and philosophic sadness. The last train of the old type left on the Central London Line had been taken on its last journey. The poor old thing is out of date, a back number, a dug-out. It might be a Harrovian, so deep have forty—to be precise, thirty-nine—years plunged it into senile decay. Thirty-nine years ago it seemed incredibly smart, swift, and luxurious. It was driven by electricity, not steam; and those who knew what atmosphere the smoke could make in the Inner Circle stations of Portland Road and Gower Street (which the lust of change has renamed Great Portland Street and Euston Road) rejoiced at the clearness of the air in the stations of the new line. The carriages were generously lit by electricity; one could read in them with ease. They were not cut up into compartments, each with a door which none could open from outside if some curmudgeonly passenger inside chose to put his foot against the handle. And spacious lifts "descend to meet every train"—which was better than stairs, although *Punch* soon found occasion to amend the notice into "condescend to meet some trains."

How simple, too, the booking! Every fare was the same. For twopence the passenger might travel from terminus to terminus of the railway, which Cockney wit promptly named the "Twopenny Tube"—from Shepherd's Bush to the Bank. From Shepherd's Bush to Holland Park, or from the Post Office to the Bank was also a twopenny fare. The passenger put down his twopence, took his ticket and dropped it into a box at the barrier; and that was that. The company soon found cause to graduate the fares and to replace the box by a human ticket-collector; but the early days of nonchalance are still treasured in the memory of those who knew them. And now, if this was so new and so grand in 1900 is falling fast under the sickle

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S CRITICS

EFFICIENCY IN FOREIGN POLICY

THE LIBERAL TRADITION

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Mr. Spender's letter, and that of Lady Oxford supporting him, deserve the gratitude of those to whom the Liberal tradition is dear, and who, amid all the disputable questions of foreign policy in late years, have only desired that our country should maintain it effectively. Sir Archibald Sinclair has now replied to Mr. Spender. He repeats the charge that Mr. Chamberlain is "half-hearted," which (though merely ridiculous to those who, sometimes against him and sometimes with him, have known Mr. Chamberlain for years) is manifestly very serviceable to the Dictators to-day. Beyond that he can only ask indignantly: "What is this new doctrine that a Prime Minister can do no wrong?" No one has ever suggested such a doctrine. But many of his own party, as of others, would suggest to Sir Archibald that in attacks upon a Prime Minister patriotism may at times demand some restraints, and in attacks upon any man decent fair play demands some, too.

Yours truly,

July 12.

CHARWOOD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—I have no wish to enter into the controversy between the followers of the Liberal leader in the House of Commons and Mr. Spender. To an onlooker it certainly seems that Sir Archibald Sinclair is the only Liberal leader of recent times who has infused vigour and reality into his party.

But I should like to be allowed to say a word about the policy of "appeasement" and Mr. Spender's reference to Lord Grey as one who followed that policy. If it is only meant that Lord Grey tried to conciliate the then German Government and to show them that we desired their friendship, that no doubt is true of Lord Grey as it would have been of any other British Foreign Minister. If Mr. Spender means that Lord Grey would have been in favour of the policy that produced the abandonment first of Abyssinia to Italy and then of Czecho-Slovakia to Germany I know of no action of Lord Grey which lends colour to such a suggestion. The main thing that can be said against British policy in the years immediately preceding 1914 is that it failed to convince Germany that if she made an unprovoked attack on France we should (as we did) go to the assistance of France. In that respect there were no doubt some resemblances to the earlier stages of the Munich policy, and in each case the result was disastrous. But the chief objection felt to the Munich policy is that we, being bound "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the political independence and territorial integrity" of Czecho-Slovakia, took a course which sacrificed her independence and destroyed the liberty of her inhabitants because we were not prepared to risk resistance to German threats.

To those who take that view the policy pursued was not merely unsuccessful, as it deserved to be, but was in the highest degree immoral. To keep your word and to refuse to yield to threats should be among the first

WHITEHALL 1511



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.1574.

Air Mail - 14.7.39.
Due to Arrive - 24.7.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES.

I enclose a report of Lord Lothian's speech at the
Pilgrims' dinner on 13th July.

Alfred Stirling

W
1939

ND 18

CONFIDENTIAL

S.6912.Air Mail - 7.7.39.
Due to Arrive - 17.7.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.FRANCE.Relations with United States.

In continuation of S.6904 our informant in Paris has been instructed to impress on the French Government the considered view of the United Kingdom Government that it is of the utmost importance at the present time to avoid any utterance calculated to give a handle to the isolationists in the United States of America.

WHITEHALL 1511



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.1397.

Air Mail - 24.5.39.
Due to Arrive - 3.6.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

Mr. Heydon
PH

UNITED STATES.

I enclose a report of a speech by Sir Ronald
Lindsay at a farewell dinner given by the Pilgrims of the
United States in New York.

See
2
vs *no*

J

Alfred Stirling

ANGLO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

SIR RONALD LINDSAY'S FAREWELL

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, MAY 23

The Pilgrims of the United States gave a dinner at the Hotel Plaza here to-night to bid farewell to Sir Ronald Lindsay, the British Ambassador, and to welcome Vice-Admiral Sir Sidney Meyrick and Rear-Admiral G. F. B. Edward Collins, and other officers of the British warships now visiting New York. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the Pilgrims, introduced the Ambassador.

Sir Ronald Lindsay bade farewell to the Pilgrims in a speech as sincere as it was felicitous. He found a mitigation of the regret which his approaching departure induced in the thought of the qualities of his successor, Lord Lothian, whose "scholarly mind and alert intelligence" impressed all who met him.

Lord Lothian, he said, had a "profound knowledge of politics which comes only from long and practical experience of public life," and, moreover, "he knows America, he likes Americans, and he has a full understanding of the psychology of the people he will deal with."

Sir Ronald Lindsay looked back over 34 years' knowledge of this country, nine of them as Ambassador.

"When I arrived for the third time in 1930 (he said) I found that Anglo-American relations were . . . closer and more cordial than they had ever been before in history—except of course the short period during which we had been engaged together in war. To-day I have no hesitation in affirming that they are even more cordial than they were then. . . . I suggest to you that our two countries are being carried along, fortunately together, by forces infinitely more powerful than anything that can be set in motion by mere men, even by the most enthusiastic labourers in the field of friendship, even by the wisest statesmen in the Council Chamber. We are both carried along on a deep and mighty stream, the stream of common thought and common ideals rising from the spring of a great tradition deriving from the immemorial past."

There might be eddies or cross-currents, and even backwaters, but these did not affect the "great volume of the stream." Kindly Nature had provided both nations alike "with impulses which in the past have brought us from our lowly beginning to our present and similar degrees of liberty, strength, and sanity," and "the men that we are may well stand abashed at the puny quality of our own efforts, and be proud if now and then by a stroke of the oar or by a touch of the rudder we are able to steer our barques through rapids or round eddy to the smoother water beyond."

TRIBUTE TO MR. HULL

The Ambassador spoke of the Anglo-American trade agreement.

He paid a tribute of "personal affection and public respect" to the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, who "with unerring accuracy has put his finger on the point of difficulty in the world of to-day." He spoke of the difficulties and hesitations on both sides, but in the end, he said, "the common sense of the two peoples" governed the issue and gave Mr. Hull a triumph "of the noblest order, for both parties to the negotiation have shared equally in it and we may hope that it will serve as a powerful example to other countries."

Finally Sir Ronald Lindsay spoke of the approaching visit of the King and Queen, not as one with a close personal knowledge of their Majesties, but as knowing enough "to say that, when they come among you, whatever you may know of them as King and Queen, your feelings will be warmed towards the gentleman and the lady."

He recalled how the late King George V had "by his kingly qualities acquired the respect of the American people," and how, in the course of years, "on account of his personal virtues they came to accord to him, as from the heart, a deep and well-deserved affection." "It is an immense pleasure to me (he continued) that his son and Queen Elizabeth are coming here, and that they will thus early in their reign, by their charm, their demeanour, and their personal qualities, be able to inspire just those feelings which governed the thoughts of Americans towards

QUEEN MARY

CAR OVERTURNED IN COLLISION

Queen Mary is suffering from bruising and shock as the result of a collision between her car and a motor-lorry yesterday afternoon at the junction of Wimbledon Park Road and West Hill Road, Wandsworth.

The following statement was issued at 7.30 p.m. from Marlborough House:—

Her Majesty Queen Mary is suffering from bruising and shock as the result of an accident this afternoon in which her Majesty's car was overturned. Though the bruising is considerable and will need some days' complete rest, her Majesty's general condition is this evening satisfactory.

STANLEY HEWETT.
DAWSON OF PENN.

Queen Mary was returning to Marlborough House from Wisley, Surrey, where she had visited the Royal Horticultural Society's gardens. In attendance, and passengers with her in the car, were Lady Constance Milnes-Gaskell and Lord Claud Hamilton. The car was passing out of Wimbledon Park Road and across West Hill Road when it was struck on the off side by the lorry and overturned on to its near side.

HELPED OUT BY LADDER

The crash alarmed several people in the street and in neighbouring houses, who ran to the car to give help. Among them were workmen who were painting a house. They used a hammer to break open the uppermost door and then put a stepladder into the car. By this means the occupants were helped out. Lady Constance Milnes-Gaskell had a grazed arm and Lord Claud Hamilton's hand was cut; the chauffeur, Mr. Humfrey, was not injured. All were suffering from shock.

Queen Mary, who was quite composed, was assisted with her lady-in-waiting to a house close by, which happened to be that of the late Dr. H. S. Revell, who died last week, and whose successor was not in the house at the time. Dr. Revell's son, Mr. F. Revell, telephoned for another doctor, but her Majesty said she needed only to rest there until another car could take her on to Marlborough House. She accepted some tea, and congratulated Mr. Revell on his bandaging of Lady Constance Milnes-Gaskell's arm.

In the meantime another car had been sent for, and the one involved in the accident, badly damaged, was towed to a neighbouring garage.

The lorry driver was shaken but was unhurt; his vehicle, loaded with steel tubes, was driven away with a damaged radiator.

About half an hour after the accident Queen Mary left Mr. Revell's house without having received medical attention and, with Lady Constance Milnes-Gaskell and Lord Claud Hamilton, was driven back to Marlborough House, where she retired to her rooms. Dr. Hewett and Lord Dawson had already been summoned by telephone.

The overturned car and the news that Queen Mary had been involved in an accident caused a large crowd to assemble, and when her Majesty left the doctor's house the people showed their relief and sympathy in a burst of cheering as she drove away. Queen Mary was able to bow in acknowledgment.

THE KING'S MESSAGE

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

FORT WILLIAM, ONT., MAY 23

At Schreiber to-night their Majesties received news direct from Buckingham Palace assuring them that Queen Mary was unhurt and quite well. The King has sent a telegram to Queen Mary.

RECTOR SEVERELY INJURED

National Archives of Australia: NAA: A961, LHM 173 PART 2

WHIT. LL 1511



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.1497.

Air Mail - 21.6.39.
Due to Arrive - 1.7.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES.

I enclose a report of President Roosevelt's fare-
well message to the King.

Alfred Stirling

NA
174

J

D

PRESIDENT TO THE KING

17/6

PARTING MESSAGE

AMERICANS DEEPLY TOUCHED

President Roosevelt (says Reuter) has sent the following message to the King on the occasion of their Majesties' departure from Canada:—

"I cannot allow you and the Queen to sail for home without expressing once more the extreme pleasure which your all too brief visit to the United States gave us. The warmth of the welcome accorded you everywhere you visited in this country was the spontaneous outpouring of Americans who were deeply touched by the tact, graciousness, and understanding hearts of our guests.

"I shall always like to think that you felt the sincerity of this manifestation of the friendship of the American people. Mrs. Roosevelt joins me in parting felicitations to your Majesties and in best wishes for a safe and pleasant voyage."

FURS FOR THE QUEEN

Soon after their Majesties' departure it was announced that Mr. Mackenzie King, the Canadian Prime Minister, in a private ceremony, had presented the Queen with a twin silver fox stole, with gold clasps, on behalf of the Government and people of



Canada. He also presented an Arctic white fox stole for Queen Mary and sets of marten scarves and muffs for the Princesses.

The King and Queen spent yesterday on board the Empress of Britain as a day of complete rest. The liner slowed down for a short period yesterday evening on leaving Canada in order to allow the King and Queen to see the huge bonfires which bade them a flaring farewell from the coast. As she passed the three-mile limit, an hour and a half after leaving Halifax, the two destroyers, Skeena and Saguenay, turned back. The King telegraphed to them: "Thanks for the escort. Good-bye and good luck."

A message expressing gratitude to the people of Quebec Province and "pride at having been so highly honoured by the visit" has been sent to their Majesties by the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Patenaude.

The Empress of Britain was off Cape Race, Newfoundland, at 8.40 B.S.T. last night and was due at Holyrood early this morning.

OFFENSIVE AGAINST LOCUSTS FAILS

LARGE AREAS IN AFRICA THREATENED

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

NAIROBI, JUNE 16

It is officially announced that owing to the enormous expense involved it is impossible to attempt to destroy locust eggs and hoppers in the less accessible districts. Farmers are urged to continue the use of poison bait for the partial protection of their crops and grazing, and the Administration is organizing hopper destruction in the native reserves.

The locust outlook is becoming increasingly serious. Reports indicate that an area between Lake Chad and Kenya, including large parts of the Sudan, Abyssinia, Uganda, and portions of the Congo and Tanganyika is heavily infested. Most of the Kenya Highlands are under hoppers and increasing numbers of swarms are reported from the Sudan and Abyssinia. Abyssinia is apparently heavily infested. The Kenya Government are considering an insurance scheme for the partial compensation of European cereal growers, but are unable to evolve a formula to cover stock losses if grazing is extensively destroyed.

KNIGHTS OF COMMERCE

FRENCH DECORATION FOR BUSINESS MEN

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, JUNE 16

M. Gentin, the Minister of Commerce, has set up an order of chivalry for men of commerce. From July 14 business men who deserve well of their country may be decorated with the Ordre du Mérite Commercial. Starting with the rank of Knight (Chevalier), they may be promoted to Officer (Officier), and, finally, Commander (Commandeur), if their buyings and sellings are particularly meritorious.

M. Gentin's Order of Commercial Merit sets a high standard.

It is the aim of the Order, says the decree under which it is set up, to reward persons who have distinguished themselves by their professional worth and their contribution towards the development of French economic activity and French foreign trade. Candidates for inclusion in the new Order must be at least 40 years of age, and have done at least 20 years' service to trade or industry. They may then be created Knights, of whom there are to be no more than 75. After eight years as knights they may be promoted, if deserving, to Officers, whose numbers are restricted to 15. Then, if their business reputation rises even higher, and after five years' apprenticeship as officers, they may become Commanders. At this high level of commercial excellence, members are limited to four.

The decoration to be worn by members of the different grades is not, as might be expected—on a field argent, a telephone proper, surmounting a roll-top desk gules. It is an eight-armed cross in the form of a compass card. The arms are joined by an enamelled tricolor cogged-wheel, in the centre of which is the figure of the French Republic watching over foreign trade, represented by a ship. Mercury's caduceus also appears, and on the reverse side is a map of the world inscribed *Mérite Commercial*.

NATIONALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

National Archives of America: RG 226-1, UN 173, PART 5

WHITEHALL 1511



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R. 1470.

Air Mail - 14.6.39.
Due to Arrive - 24.6.39.

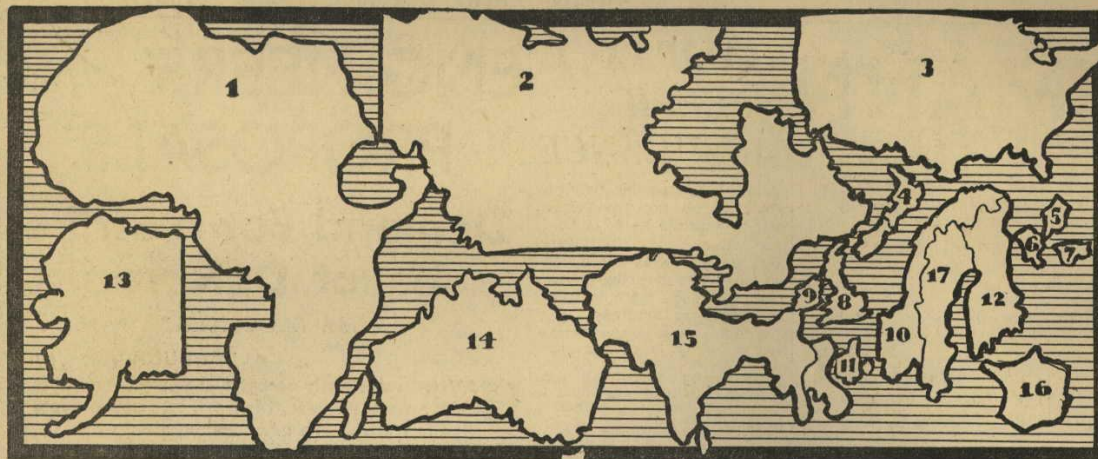
MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

"UNION NOW"

I enclose an article which appeared in the "News Chronicle" of 12th June by Mr. J.B. Priestley, the novelist and dramatist, on the formation of a "Federal Union Society."

Alfred Stirling



1. Africa
2. Canada
3. U.S.A.
4. New Zealand
5. Holland
6. Belgium
7. Switzerland
8. Great Britain
9. Eire
10. Norway
11. Denmark
12. Finland
13. Alaska
14. Australia
15. India and Burma
16. France
17. Sweden

FEDERAL UNION

NOW that the King and Queen have been the guests of the American people, I can produce an article, this article, that I have been waiting for months to write. I have been wanting to write it because it is a pleasure to discuss something hopeful, and this is very hopeful indeed. It is nothing less than a plan for saving the world from disaster.

This plan is called Federal Union. There has existed for some time a society of that name, here in London, and if anybody wants the address it is 44, Gordon Square, W.C.1.

THIS society has been making steady progress, but it has recently been given an enormous ally, in the shape of a book. This is Clarence K. Streit's "Union Now," which has proved a tremendous success in America.

Notice that the society I have mentioned is British. But Clarence Streit and his book are American, and it is in America that he and it are having such a success that he is in overwhelming demand as a lecturer and a talker on the radio. I mention these facts to show that the interest in and demand for Federal Union comes from both sides of the Atlantic.

It is not an American dodge to get something out of the British. It is equally not a British trick to take advantage of the Americans.

The League of Nations was better than nothing, but it had some serious weaknesses. The powers that joined it did not abandon their national sovereignty. Then, except in

such matters as public health, the drug traffic, and so on, there was no real co-operation in the League because the national representatives attended its sessions to get as much as they could out of them for their own sovereign powers. Internationalism lost rather than gained.

A much better idea—and the first step towards a world state—is Federal Union. (I will now follow Streit's plan, which is better known and more detailed than any other.) Suppose that all the democracies do not merely ally or league themselves but form a federal union, just as the forty-eight states of the U.S.A. form a federal union?

Here I must point out that the states of the U.S.A. did not come together in union effort-

lessly. After the War of Independence, the thirteen states were anything but united. They represented different styles of life and different points of view.

EACH state had its own currency and economic system. Each state had its own troops. They erected tariffs against each other. They mobilised on their various frontiers.

The War of Independence had brought them together, but the Peace turned them into quarrelsome sovereign states again. For ten years little progress was made. It looked as if the colonists had fought in vain.

They were no better off than before. Their time and energy were spent in checking and

counterchecking each other, not in exploiting and expanding their resources and raising the standard of living.

After ten years of this chaos, brought about by the usual "practical hard-headed" men, the "visionaries" took charge, led by Alexander Hamilton. In 1789 the thirteen states accepted federal union, and as other states were created, they automatically became part of the federation.

THE bitter and terrible Civil War was fought by Lincoln not, as people here tend to think, on the slavery problem, but chiefly to preserve at all costs this federal system. If the American continent had been occupied during these last hundred years by

no others would be allowed within its system.

The union would set up single postal and communication systems. It would have one currency throughout. It would abolish all tariffs within the union. All colonies would be pooled, though personal ownership of colonial property would stay as it is.

Including the inhabitants of the colonial possessions, the total population of this union would be nearly half the world total of population; it would be 900,000,000. The white population of the union would be about 280,000,000.

It will be readily seen that any other power or group of powers would have about as much chance of successfully attacking this democratic union as you or I would have of

trade, like that between Manchester and Cardiff, and comparatively as easy as pie. With the result that there would undoubtedly be a great deal of it, and as that is how we all live economically, by dealing with each other—though you would never think so from the way things have been going these last ten years—it follows that we should all live better.

Forming this union might not be as easy as uniting the original American states, which had a common language and were in the same geographical region. But the speeding up of transport and communications narrows all these distances.

The language difficulty could be overcome, with the exercise of tact and a little patience all round. The difference in the standards of living, especially between the Old World democracies and the New, would be one of the first and greatest barriers.

BUT the greatest barrier of all will be sheer mulish conservatism, fear of experiment, mistrust of your fellow creatures, dislike of co-operation, wanting to be cock on your dunghill.

Meanwhile, what can the rest of us do? We can keep before us this noble and fruitful plan. We can join the Federal Union, address as above. We can support all policies that seem to us to be moving in this same direction—for example, a customs union between the democracies, any suggestion of a pooling of resources or a simplification of postal, communication, transport systems between the nations—and we can set our faces, like granite, against all policies that encourage mutual suspicion, heighten national sovereignty, and continue to spread chaos.

By J. B. Priestley

half-a-dozen or more sovereign states, its progress would not have been a tenth part of what it has been under federal union.

I have introduced this historical parallel to spike in advance the guns of those who always cry "Can't be done!" Let us see now what the proposal is. It is that the democracies, Britain and Ireland, and the Dominions, United States, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, should form a huge new nation.

This democratic federation would have its own capital, executive, senate, house of representatives, judiciary. It would decide the union's foreign policy. But not, of course, the domestic policies of each of the federating states. The union would have its own army, air forces and navy, and

tackling an angry elephant. The dictators' bogey-bogey game would be ended for good and all.

If the figures of man power are formidable, the figures for natural resources are even more impressive. These combined states already produce 96 per cent. of the world's nickel, 95 per cent. of the rubber, 73 per cent. of the iron ore, 72 per cent. of tin, 66 per cent. of oil, and 65 per cent. of coal and raw cotton.

AT the present moment the trade between these various democracies is international trade, conducted as if it were running an obstacle race. "Let's make everything difficult" is the present rule.

If such a union were formed, all this would become domestic

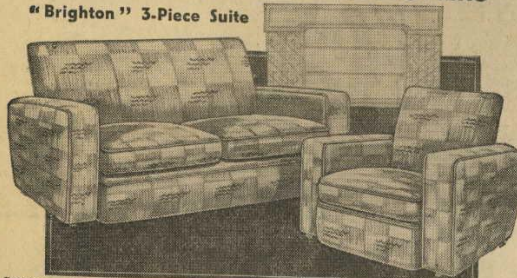
OETZMANN

SPECIAL OFFER

THREE-PIECE SUITES

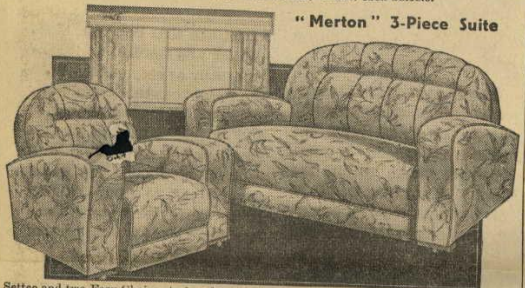
— MANUFACTURER'S SHOWROOM MODELS —
PURCHASED FOR CASH AT SPECIAL DISCOUNT
SAVING PASSED TO CUSTOMERS

"Brighton" 3-Piece Suite



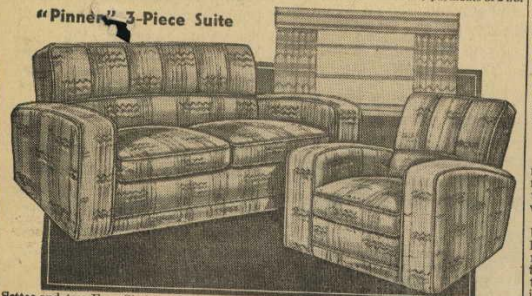
Settee and two Easy Chairs of modern design, with well sprung seats and backs ensuring perfect comfort; covered in hard-wearing tapestry. Settee 5ft. wide, Easy Chairs 3ft. wide. SETTEE AND TWO SPECIAL £12. 15s. or 25s. with order, and 12 EASY CHAIRS OFFER monthly payments of 19s. Separate Prices: Settee £5.15.0, Easy Chairs, each £3.15.0.

"Merton" 3-Piece Suite



Settee and two Easy Chairs, designed to give utmost comfort with triple springing in seats and pocket springing in arms and backs; covered in hard-wearing Tapestry. Settee 5ft. wide, Easy Chairs 3ft. wide. A Suite that will give lasting service. SETTEE AND TWO Usually SPECIAL 15 GUINEAS or 31/6 with order and 12 EASY CHAIRS 19 GUINEAS OFFER monthly payments of 24/3.

"Pinner" 3-Piece Suite



Settee and two Easy Chairs of modern design, well sprung throughout and covered in good quality hard wearing Tapestry. Seats fitted with spring interior cushions. Will give satisfaction and good service. Settee 5ft. 3 in. wide, Easy Chairs 2ft. 10 in. wide. SETTEE AND TWO SPECIAL £22. 10 0 or 45s. with order and 12 EASY CHAIRS OFFER monthly payments of 34/8 This Three-piece Suite covered in hard wearing Uncut Moquette £24.10.0 Separate Prices: Settee 11 guineas, Easy Chairs, each, £6.15.0

TELEPHONE EUSTON 5000 OETZMANN & CO. LTD. WARREN ST. TUBE STATION 67-67, HAMPSTEAD ROAD, N.W.1. 125, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, W.1

MUSIC FOR THE HOME

A unique collection of music selected from works of world's greatest composers.

Ordinary, 3/6 : De Luxe, 5/- (Post 3d. extra)

Obtainable through all booksellers and newsagents or from the News Chronicle Publications Department, Chronicle House, Fleet Street, E.C.4, Derby Street, Croydon, Surrey, or 11, Small Street, Bristol.

Kill Stomach Pain at HALF the cost!

Hospital tests prove that Rennie tablets kill stomach pain in 30 seconds. And they cost only half as much as other remedies! Rennie's act quickly because they don't have to be diluted with water. They flow down in natural saliva and reach your stomach full strength. They make burning stomach acid mild as milk. Pain stops dead. You can eat anything. Simply take 2 or 3 Rennie's after meals. Delicious to taste. Separately wrapped, carried loose in pocket or handbag, 25 for 6d. Four times as much, 1/6. At all chemists.

DIGESTIF 25 FOR 6d RENNIES

HALIFAX SPEECH ASSURANCE

A DENIAL that the speech by Lord Halifax, the Foreign Secretary, in the House of Lords last week, was a "preliminary to some further weak-kneed concessions" was given by Captain Euan Wallace, Minister of Transport, on Saturday.

Speaking at Bowood, near Chippenham, he said that the greatest danger of the moment lay in the encirclement propaganda in the Axis countries, but Britain was willing to confer with anyone who had a grievance.

Mr. Arthur Greenwood, who is leading the Opposition in Mr. Attlee's absence, spoke at Swindon and expressed a fear that the Government would return to the "discredited plan of appeasement if even a shadow of an opportunity occurred."

"In spite of the most emphatic statements that both men and material would be withdrawn from Spain," he said, "the Prime Minister has now admitted that war material is being left behind for the use of the Franco Government. This Government in the past has given undertakings it has not fulfilled; permitted, without protest, flagrant breaches of solemn agreements, and shamelessly reversed policies to which it was pledged."

MR. EDEN'S VIEW

Mr. Anthony Eden, at Warwick, maintained that, now the Government had taken its stand against aggression, there could be no turning back. Dislike of Communism could not blind us to the fact that Russia was neither an aggressive nor an expansionist Power. Facts did not justify optimism about the international outlook. The next few months would inevitably be as anxious and difficult as any we had known.

Mr. Philip Noel Baker, M.P., at Dartford, said that the regulations of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini of their intervention in Spain should suffice to make Mr. Chamberlain resign. Their statements throw a lurid light on the non-intervention pact, by which the British public were consistently deceived.

Lord Chatfield, Minister for the Colonisation of Defence, at Craigforth, Scotland, said that Britain, instead of saying "Woe to the weak," was now saying, "We will stand by the weak."

INTENTIONS CLEAR

"The further agreements that we may make," he said, "will also be made public and their intentions will, therefore, be manifestly clear to the world."

Mr. Hugh Dalton, M.P., at Attleborough, Norfolk, appealed to the Labour Party to bear itself "like the next Government of Britain and carry to the people our Socialist message for the ending of poverty and the building of peace upon the twin foundations of unfaltering joint resistance to aggression and a constant readiness to discuss and to remedy all legitimate grievances."

ENGINEERS' 10/ PROPOSALS

Demand For a Strike Ballot Deferred

From IAN MACKAY

LLANDUDNO, Sunday.

HAVING reluctantly accepted the employers' offer of 2s. a week increase, the Engineers now propose to go forward with a new demand of a further 10s. a week advance on their basis rates.

When the National Committee resumes here tomorrow, this will be proposed by Mr. T. H. Twaddle, of Blyth.

Failing a favourable reply from the employers before the end of the year, it is proposed that the National Committee should be summoned to decide what action should be taken to enforce the claim.

At first Mr. Twaddle's motion contained the threat of a strike ballot if the demand were rejected, but after consultation it was agreed the matter should be referred to a special meeting of the National Committee instead.

In his speech on the 2s. offer on Friday, the president, Mr. J. C. Little, admitted that at present 2s. is all the industry can afford, but he prophesied a tremendous boom by the end of the year which will completely alter the situation, and he ventured to predict that in six months' time a further wage increase will be inevitable.

HEALTH INSURANCE

Yesterday the Committee dealt with health insurance and the position of the A.E.U. Approved Society. The assistant general secretary, Mr. W. McLaine, moving the report, said that last year 12,375,000 working days were lost through sickness in the engineering industry.

"If we took 10s. a day as the average wage," he said, "this represents a loss in wages of £6,187,500. This is not only a question of loss in wages, however. It means disorganisation in the industry and consequent loss to the employers."

"If the industry lost nearly 12,500,000 working days last year then the employers should join with us and pay more attention to the health of their employees."

PANEL DOCTORS

Mr. McLaine strongly criticised the panel doctor system. The most important purpose of the Insurance Act, he said, was to improve the health of the people. It had not done very much in that direction.

"It is admitted that the panel system provides a grossly inadequate means of medical attention for those who have to go to panel doctors' surgeries. The facilities provided are inadequate, and the treatment given is miserably inadequate. It is only now and again, when some particular scandal occurs, that its inadequacy is exposed."

MORRISON'S PLEA TO LIBERALS

Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P., at Halifax on Saturday, appealed to Liberals "of genuine progressive outlook" and the small minority of Conservatives "who are gravely apprehensive about the incompetence and indecision of the present Government."

The next election would determine whether the Conservatives remained in office or a Labour majority took office. There was no reason why Liberals should not face that issue, for all that was best in Liberalism, before division and electoral setback came, found expression in the principles and policy of the Labour Party.

SHADOW HIS LIFE



THIS HITLER, "HE DO SEEM A FIDGET"

MISS M. L. POTTER, of South Hampstead High School, at the Association of Head Mistresses' Conference at Bradford on Saturday, quoted this remark, heard during the September crisis, as an example of the Briton's genius for understatement.

SIR FRANCIS DYKE ACLAND

A memorial service for Sir Francis Dyke Acland, M.P., who died in London on Thursday, will be held at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, on Friday, at 12.30.

The funeral will be at Broad Claydon, Exeter, at 2.30 tomorrow and cars will meet the 10.30 train from Paddington to Exeter.

"This Hitler, he do seem a fidget, don't he?"

Miss Potter, who was speaking on the national character and tradition, said that the arithmetic book was often obscure to a girl. To the question: "A shepherd sold a third of his flock for £25, what would the rest of the flock realise?" one girl replied: "It would realise that some of the sheep were missing."

Another earnest student, copying out an example, wrote: "The committee consists of ten persons, comprising five of either sex!"

THE ENGLISH CHARACTER

Miss Potter said that when she asked her staff what was the English

£3 A WEEK EX

Make money with

YOU can add to your income side money cares for the minutes' relaxation with features—Solutions for all big Among fortunes offered this

101- and She's

EASY TO GET TO

National Archives of Australia

WHIT HALL 1511



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.1465.

Air Mail - 14.6.39.
Due to Arrive - 24.6.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES.

Royal Visit.

I enclose The Times' reports of the royal visit to
the United States.

2. I also enclose a report of a speech by the American
Ambassador in London on 9th June.

Alfred Stirling

KENNEDY ON THE KING'S WELCOME

The American Ambassador, speaking yesterday at a reception at the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, described the greeting between the King and President Roosevelt in Washington as "perhaps the most important handclasp of modern times."

The guests at the reception were received by Mr. E. Bruce Ball, president of the institution, and Mrs. and Miss Bruce Ball. At a meeting held afterwards the president announced the award of the James Watt International Medal to Mr. Henry Ford; and Sir Nigel Gresley, a past president, unveiled a portrait of James Watt acquired by the institution in 1936, the bicentenary year of Watt's birth.

The portrait is by C. F. von Breda, a Swedish artist. It was painted in 1792 at the instance of John Rennie, who commissioned Breda to visit this country for the purpose. In a letter dated June 9, 1792, Watt wrote to Rennie:—

"I wish you to come this way when you set out on your journey and we can talk about the portrait, to which I am rather averse, as I think it an honour I do not merit and that the copy of my countenance cannot be worth procuring." The portrait remained in John Rennie's family till it was bought at Christie's in 1936 by the institution.

THE EARLIEST PORTRAIT

Dr. H. L. GUY, chairman of the Watt Medal Committee, recalling the purchase yesterday, said that the skill of Sir Nigel Gresley in spinning a coin removed the perhaps costly competition of the Institution of Civil Engineers at the auction. Dr. Guy gave reasons for thinking that this is the earliest portrait ever painted of James Watt, who was then 57. An almost identical picture in the National Portrait Gallery bears the date 1793.

The James Watt International Medal was founded in 1936, to be awarded by the institution every two years with the cooperation of the corresponding societies of the 17 major industrial countries of the world. The first medal was presented in 1937 to Sir John Aspinall. The second has been awarded to Mr. Ford on the nomination of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. Dr. Guy, in a warm appreciation of Mr. Ford, described him as the founder of the largest privately owned industrial organization mankind had ever seen, and a truly great mechanical engineer.

PROGRESS OF SCIENCE

The AMERICAN AMBASSADOR said he knew that his countrymen would join with him in thanking the institution for its recognition of Mr. Ford's contributions to the advancement of transport. He had always, Mr. Kennedy continued, had a great admiration for engineers and other technical men. Political régimes might come and go, business might go into a tailspin, crops might fail, the land might tremble with unrest and uncertainty; science went on. That did not mean that the scientist and the engineer were not interested in the fate of their fellow men. I meant rather that they were tremendously interested, and that, come what might, they were willing to go on producing things to make the world a better place in which to live.

Observing that the members of the institution were to hold a joint meeting with Canadian and American engineers in New York next September, Mr. Kennedy said he hoped many of them would find time to see something of the United States and get acquainted with the people. He was sorry that the King and Queen would not have an opportunity to see more of the country. He was even sorer that more of his people would not be able to see their Majesties.

A SIGNIFICANT MEETING

"The meeting of King George and President Roosevelt yesterday was one of great charm as well as great significance," the Ambassador said, in a passage punctuated with cheers. "There was nothing awkward, nothing forced, nothing artificial. The meeting was simple and friendly, like the relations which prevail between the two peoples. The President held out his hand. The King grasped it. It was perhaps the most important handclasp of modern times. Reports indicate that their Majesties are being received with the same warmth and enthusiasm that distinguished their tour through Canada. It could not be otherwise."

"The King and Queen have gone to America not as the sovereigns of one State visiting the head of another, but as friendly visitors. They have gone to see a land they want to see, to meet a people they wish to meet. They have been received in the spirit in which they came—a spirit not of the majesty of power, not of the majesty of state, but a spirit of a far more important sort, the majesty of human understanding. That is a spirit which is very dear to the people of America. They will prove it, in no uncertain terms, while your Sovereigns abide, for the first time in history, on American soil."

MR. HORE-BELISHA ON OUR ARMED STRENGTH

Mr. Hore-Belisha, Secretary of State for War, yesterday visited Plymouth and made an official inspection of the garrison. He was received with a salute of 17 guns.

Addressing the 43rd (Wessex) Divisional R.A.S.C. (T.A.) after presenting trophies, Mr. HORE-BELISHA, who is hon. colonel of the unit, said that we should in the course of the next few months have under arms in this country upwards of 750,000 men, a total which bore comparison with that of Continental armies. Thus we were becoming, almost overnight as it were, a great military power. We were in process of establishing a Ministry of Supply to provide the necessary equipment for our Forces. About 250,000 different items of equipment, varying from heavy artillery and tanks down to buttons, were required, some in great quantities, for the British Army.

THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM

Speaking later at a dinner of the unit, Mr. HORE-BELISHA said that we had in the very recent past added to that voluntary system of recruitment, which had been for many years and still remained our traditional method of defence, a limited form of universal military training. The Territorial Field Army was to-day at 86 per cent. of its strength on the new doubled basis. The various changes and increases, drastic though they were, did not complete the pattern which was being shaped for the Militia should provide us with another 800,000 men in the next three years. Many feared that that calling up of young men between 20 and 21 would spell the ruin of the voluntary system and of the Territorial Army. Such had not been the case.

The task falling on the War Office was one of unprecedented magnitude. Their building programme alone for the current year averaged nearly £1,000,000 a week. For camps 15,000,000 yards of new tentage were required. To train and administer the Militia meant a permanent increase in the establishment of the Regular Army of some 1,900 officers and 19,000 warrant officers, N.C.O.s, and men. The doubling of the Territorial Army had meant the gazettement of 9,000 new officers. The provision of extra clothing had involved the purchase of 6,000,000 yards of serge and 9,500,000 yards of cloth for overalls.

Throughout all the changes, involving great difficulties of provision and adjustment, the spirit of enthusiasm and understanding, so characteristic of the Territorial Army, had met every call made upon it.

PAR BRIDGE

RESULTS OF THE FOURTH WADDINGTON CONTEST

The fourth of Waddington's par bridge contests, in which over 1,200 players took part, was won by Dr. J. Whitby and Mr. J. Ellison (London) with 91 points, the highest number scored in any contest. Other leading scores were:—

Mr. M. Harrison Gray and Mr. J. C. H. Marx (London), 88; Mr. A. O. Craven and Dr. M. Rushon (Bradford), 85; Mr. J. F. Harrison and Mr. H. Sutcliffe (Manchester), 84; Mr. L. Tarlo and Mr. N. Novello (London), 83; Mrs. Langmuir and Mrs. E. Smith (Glasgow), 82; Mr. L. Britten and Mr. R. Z. Humphries (Manchester), 82; Mrs. Mackenzie and Mrs. McKern (Cheltenham), 82; Mrs. J. Wright and Mr. J. H. Taylor (Bradford), 82; Mr. R. Swingle and Mr. M. Bendis (London), 82; and Mr. and Mrs. H. Ford (Blackpool), 82.

The percentages obtained by taking the average of the best four scores in each city placed the leading cities in the following order:—

London, 86; Glasgow, 78.25; Manchester, 77; Cheltenham, 76.5; Edinburgh, 75.5; Bradford, 73.5; Hull, 73.25; Blackpool, 73.25; Liverpool, 72.75; Oxford, 71.75; Southport, 71.5; and Belfast, 71.5.

SENTENCED FOR KNIFE ATTACK

Sentencing JOHN JOSEPH CALLAGHAN, 25, mechanic, of Norfolk Street, North Shields, to three years' penal servitude for wounding his wife with a pocket knife with intent to cause her bodily harm, MR. JUSTICE TUCKER said at Newcastle Assizes yesterday, "People in this country cannot use a knife and think that they can get away with it."

Holy Trinity, Sloane Street.—H.C., 7.50, 8.30, 10 (sung); 11.15, the Rev. C. Cheshire; 3, the Rev. W. V. C. Rose; 6.30, the Rev. W. C. Freeman.

New Parish Church.—H.C., 8; 11, Dr. Sir C. Wilson; 3, Children, the Rev. G. M. Priehard; 6.30, Dr. R. Snell.

Lambeth Parish Church.—H.C., 7, 8; 10 and 3, Children; 11.15, the Rev. L. W. Fussell; 7, the Rector.

Mercers' Chapel, Cheapside.—6, the Rev. S. C. Stept.

Paddington Parish Church, Sussex Gardens.—H.C., 8, 12.15; 11, Colonel W. Parkes; 3.15, Children; 6.30, the Rev. S. Nowell-Rostron.

Putney Parish Church.—11, Dr. E. G. Mack; 6.30, Dr. T. S. Rippon.

St. Anne's, Soho.—H.C., 8, 11 (Cascioline in A minor), the Rev. L. W. A. Ahrendt; 6.30, "Ave verum" (Byrd), the Rector.

St. Augustine's, Queen's Gate.—H.C., 7, 8; 10, Children; 10.30, M.P.; 11.15, H.M., the Rev. C. R. Deakin;

CONGRESS AND ROYALTY

UNIQUE MEETING

SOLEMN MOMENT AT MT. VERNON

THE KING SALUTES FIRST PRESIDENT

From Our Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON, JUNE 9

The King and Queen have spent 36 hours in the Capital City of the United States as guests of the American nation, personified in the figure of its Chief Magistrate, President Roosevelt. They have met representatives of its three coordinated organs of Government, and they have been attended wherever they have moved in public by cheering and delighted crowds.

By unanimous agreement, the Royal visit has been and will long remain a potent agency in the maintenance of



friendly feeling. The King's quiet and cordial bearing, and the Queen's grace and charm have given a new and more intimate quality to the genuine good will which Americans have been glad of this opportunity to express, and something of it cannot fail to endure.

Once at least the President and the King found an opportunity for private conversation, and Mr. Roosevelt spoke of it this morning. They talked, he said, as would any two men at a time of grave world tension, and their talk must have taken place in the President's study. There they remained together last night, when the guests at the State banquet had left, and they are understood not to have separated until 1 o'clock in the morning.

The King and Queen leave behind them the unforced and affectionate liking of hundreds of thousands of Americans, who had never seen them before but will not forget them. Their praises are on every

minutes. With the Ambassador and others in attendance, he walked back to the house, where, in the large drawing room, the wives and children of ex-Service men had been presented to Queen Elizabeth.

Then their Majesties came out together, and together passed around the garden, the King bareheaded and the Queen glowing and alertly responsive to all the eagerness about her. Some had a special word. The whole affair was a "British family party," as someone called it.

UNDER THE CAPITOL DOME

Of all the scenes of a crowded day, probably none will take a more prominent place in American history than the reception of the King and Queen by members of the Senate and House of Representatives. The ceremony took place under the vast dome of the Capitol in the Rotunda, separating the Senate and the House, a setting illustrative of the origin and growth of the United States. The King and Queen themselves stood within a yard of a small statue of Thomas Jefferson, the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and who is seen holding in his left hand an open metal scroll of this document. On the farther side of Jefferson from the King was a similar statue of Washington, and after him, in a circle round the floor, busts or statues of Alexander Hamilton, Andrew Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln—all statesmen who have guided the destinies of the United States since Independence was won. Above them was a series of huge paintings of episodes in American history.

The total number of members of the Senate and the House of Representatives present was 426—there were about 100 absentees, the normal number for this time of year—and the King and Queen not only shook hands with each man and woman, but also had a word to say to many of them.

Their Majesties received a great cheer as they walked down the steps of the Capitol between lines of officers of the United States Marines. Below the steps were seated some hundreds of women, the majority of whom were wives of Congressmen.

The King and Queen drove to the Washington Navy Yard and embarked with the President for Mount Vernon, once the home of George Washington. They were piped over the side of U.S.S. Potomac by the Chief Boatswain's Mate, who performed the same ceremony on the arrival of the President. Marines and blue-jackets gave the royal salute and the Royal Standard was broken over the Presidential yacht—the first time that it has ever been flown over an American ship.

WASHINGTON'S TOMB

The King and Queen, with the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, landed from the Potomac beneath the steep green slope of Mount Vernon. They went in the summer haze through the lawns, kept as though the owner were still there, under the shade of oaks, cypresses, and sweet-smelling cedars to the General's tomb. The tomb is of red brick, of his own design, as desired in his will. Ivy almost covers the brick. Two American flags stood before the grille, and behind it lie the last remains of the Northamptonshire squire who defeated the armies of a king whose descendants had now come to him. Washington rests beside his wife Martha, and against the tomb leant a wreath of Immortelles from France, whose soldiers assisted him to victory.

To this wreath the King of England

THE ANGLO-SAXON TRADITION

NO NEED OF AN AXIS

U.S. PRESS AND ROYAL VISIT

From Our Special Correspondent

WASHINGTON, JUNE 9

The newspapers make it sufficiently clear that the royal visit has been taken seriously, and not merely as a show. This is all the more remarkable since the people of Washington are not used to great military displays such as the novelty of yesterday, which might easily have preoccupied their attention. The *New York Herald Tribune* devotes 13 pages to the visit and the *New York Times* eight. The *Washington Post*, in its leading article, observes:—

Among the great nations of the English-speaking world there is in the formal sense of the word no Axis. But people who have been reared in the Anglo-Saxon tradition do not need to ally themselves in order to assert their essential unity. Where there is real community feeling it need not be protested. The welcome to their Majesties was as sincere as their Majesties' desire to visit us. And in the community of nations, as in that of individuals it is sincerity which creates the ties on which men count.

The *Washington Times-Herald* publishes a brief exegesis of British history, aimed at showing how "this king business" has made a strong return to public esteem and concludes:—

The Americans are cousins of the British, though not brothers. They are likewise friends of the British, and wish to remain so, though they do not want to be British allies.

It is everywhere accepted that the visit is personal and symbolical, and the newspapers are at pains to explain the difference in the constitutional position of the King and the President.

The following message has been issued from the King's Household:—

On the occasion of his official Birthday and on his arrival in the United States the King has received so many messages of congratulation from citizens of the United States and from all parts of the world that his Majesty finds it impossible to reply to them all individually. He would, however, like senders to know how greatly he appreciates their wishes, and would be grateful for the courtesy of the Press in making this message known.

it seemed to many, of all that constitutional monarchy, in its temper and outward seeming, can mean. They have royally lived up to all that was expected of them and they have graced such a welcome as the City of Washington had never prepared before.

NEWSPAPER WOMEN

Their Majesties began the day with a brief appearance at Mrs. Roosevelt's Press conference, where there were gathered some 70 women, who for weeks past had besought the President's wife to help them to some more intimate sight of Queen Elizabeth than a public parade can afford. When the door was opened it was seen that the King accompanied his wife, and Mrs. Roosevelt said: "I want to present Washington newspaper women to their Majesties." "Oh!" said the Queen, "there are quite a lot of them, aren't there?" and passed smiling through their ranks, with "Good morning" for each.

Meanwhile the men had gathered in the ante-room of the President's study to hear what he had to say. It is difficult for an English reader to imagine the informality of this celebrated audience. The meeting was timed for 10.30. At a quarter to 11 the President's door was opened and journalists surged forward and took their places along the desk at which Mr. Roosevelt was seated. The President was asked if he had any "observations to make about his guests." He paused for a moment, laughed, and said: "I guess there's nothing to say except that they're very, very delightful people." He voiced the opinion of the whole of the United States.

WAR VETERANS

The reception at the British Embassy was the assembling of the British colony, drawn from Washington, its vicinity, and more distant points, to the number of about 1,000. In the Embassy grounds this morning the King was with his own people, of whom about half hailed from the Old Country and others from Canada and the farther Dominions. Priority in the honours of the occasion was reserved, as of right, for the ex-Service men, who formed ranks in the outer court of the Embassy building and marched to their place in the grounds to the accompaniment of a rousing cheer. There was but one Victoria Cross among the medals they displayed, and this was worn by an American citizen, Dr. Bellenden Hutcheson, who served as Medical Officer with the 75th Canadian Battalion during the Great War and now resides at Cairo, Illinois. There were also present veterans of battles longer ago than the Great War.

Then there was a group of a dozen nurses with decorations, all of whom had served in the Great War—at base hospitals, with the troops in the field, in Belgium, France, and Greece—and one of whom, Mrs. Dorothy Wilding, wore the King's Silver Medal, the Croix de Guerre, the French Medal of Honour, and the French Reconnaissance Medal.

A roar of greeting from the road below announced their Majesties' arrival, and the Marine band of the cruiser Exeter played the National Anthem as they appeared on the porch of the Embassy overlooking the garden with the Ambassador and Lady Lindsay, and members of the royal entourage and the Embassy staff.

But first the King moved into the garden to review his veterans, stopping here and there to question and to congratulate, smiling, poised, and obviously happy. The little group of nurses held his attention and personal interest for

stepping through the gate into the tomb, now joined his own wreath of white irises and lilies. The Queen, the President, and Mrs. Roosevelt watched him. The scene cannot have lasted more than a few minutes, but it will long remain in the minds of those who saw it and it has set the crown upon this journey.

AT ARLINGTON CEMETERY

On the return to Washington the first stop was at Fort Hunt, where their Majesties saw the C.C.C. camp, one of many scattered throughout the United States at which America's young men receive stalwart outdoor training on a purely civilian basis. The King and Queen visited some of the barracks, and in chatting with several of the boys showed a keen interest in the details of the organization.

From Fort Hunt the royal party motored to Arlington Cemetery, on the top of a hill, just across the Potomac from Washington. A salute of 21 guns was fired as the party arrived. Escorted by General Craig, the Chief of Staff, the King then walked to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier below the great marble amphitheatre, in front of which several hundred American ex-Service men were drawn up. He stood at the Tomb until the United States and British National Anthems were played, and then laid a wreath upon it.

Their Majesties afterwards moved to the Canadian Cross, where the ceremony was repeated.

At her Press conference this morning Mrs. Roosevelt had remarked on the Queen's interest in social services and the welfare of the labouring classes, and it was therefore no surprise when it was seen that the guests who had tea with their Majesties at the White House this afternoon included several of those responsible for the operation of the relative New Deal agencies. Mr. Green, president of the American Federation of Labour, and Admiral Byrd were also present.

ROYAL DINNER PARTY

Thirty-six sat at table at the dinner given by their Majesties at the British Embassy to-night in honour of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt. The King was in formal evening dress, while the Queen wore a Victorian picture frock of deep rose tulle, embroidered all over with gold and silver thread, and re-embroidered with Alexandra roses in tones of pink, gold, silver, and blue. Little blue butterflies were embroidered into the rose-coloured ground. The guests invited by royal command were:—

Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, the Speaker and Mrs. William Bankhead, Justice and Mrs. Harlan Stone, the Secretary of State and Mrs. Cordell Hull, the Secretary of Labour (Miss Perkins), Senator and Mrs. Key Pittman, Senator and Mrs. Alben Barkley, Mr. and Mrs. Sol Bloom, the Under-Secretary of State and Mrs. Sumner Welles, the Prime Minister of Canada, the British Ambassador and Lady Lindsay, Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Stimson, the Minister of the Union of South Africa and Mrs. Close, the Counsellor of the Department of State (Judge Walton Moore), Lady Marler, Mr. and Mrs. Alanson B. Houghton, Mr. George T. Summerlin, Brigadier-General and Mrs. Edwin Watson, Lady Nunburnholme, and Lord Eldon.

Their Majesties left Washington shortly before midnight. To-morrow will be occupied with the drive through New York and the brief visit to the World's Fair. Late in the afternoon their Majesties will leave for the President's country seat of Hyde Park, 80 miles out of New York, stopping on the way to look at Columbia University. Sunday will be a quiet day of church-going and picnicking.

TIME-BOMB IN BASKET
WOMAN ARRESTED
JERUSALEM
JEWISH TERRORISM
FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT
JERUSALEM, JUNE 9
A young Jewess, who is reported to have been dressed like an Arab woman, was arrested at 9.30 a.m. just after a bomb set to explode at 11 o'clock in a crowd of Arabs in front of the Cenacron in Jerusalem, where on Friday morning many Arabs, chiefly women, were seen to be carrying baskets of children, assemble for the weekly visit to prisoners.
This is the first time that incontrovertible evidence has been secured to show the long-suspected Jewish origin of the highly lethal bombs.
The damage done last night, upwards of a dozen simultaneous explosions of time-bombs destroyed electric supply-transmitters and plunged a third of Jerusalem in darkness, estimated at about £3,000.
Jewish terrorism, of the existence of which there is now no doubt, may be more reprehensible than that of Arabs, but it detracts from the claims of the Jews to moral superiority and lends sinister character to their fight against the New Policy. It is true that a majority of the Jews are opposed to such policies, but that is also true of the Arab.
Moreover, as the Jews, like the Arabs, are shown unwillingness to aid the Government to apprehend terrorists, they, too, must expect collective measures.
Eleven more rifles have been voluntarily rendered by Arabs and eight weapons have been found in searches.

URMISE OIL WORKERS' HUNGER-STRIKE

USE FOR REFRESHMENTS
FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT
RANGOON, JUNE 9
oilfield strike marchers who were now decided to eat

1939

TIME-BOMB IN BASKET

WOMAN ARRESTED IN JERUSALEM

JEWISH TERRORISM

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

JERUSALEM, JUNE 9

A young Jewess, who is reported to have been dressed like an Arab woman, was arrested at 9.30 a.m. just after she had put down a basket containing a time-bomb set to explode at 11 o'clock among a crowd of Arabs in front of the Central Prison in Jerusalem, where on Friday mornings many Arabs, chiefly women and children, assemble for the weekly visits to prisoners.

This is the first time that incontrovertible evidence has been secured to show the long-suspected Jewish origin of these highly lethal bombs.

The damage done last night, when upwards of a dozen simultaneous explosions of time-bombs destroyed five electric supply-transformers and plunged a third of Jerusalem in darkness, is estimated at about £P.3,000.

Jewish terrorism, of the existence of which there is now no doubt, may not be more reprehensible than that of the Arabs, but it detracts from the claims of the Jews to moral superiority and lends sinister character to their fight against the New Policy. It is true that the majority of the Jews are opposed to such tactics; but that is also true of the Arabs. Moreover, as the Jews, like the Arabs, have shown unwillingness to aid the Government to apprehend terrorist criminals, they, too, must expect collective measures.

Eleven more rifles have been voluntarily surrendered by Arabs and eight weapons have been found in searches.

URMESE OIL WORKERS' HUNGER-STRIKE

USE FOR REFRESHMENTS

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

RANGOON, JUNE 9

Oilfield strike marchers who were on hunger-strike have now decided to eat, and it is believed that the decision is

RELEASE OF FRENCH RESERVISTS

FIXED FOR EARLY AUTUMN

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, JUNE 9

In a written communication M. Daladier, the Prime Minister, to-day informed M. Chichery, the president of the Radical group in the Chamber, that he had given orders for the demobilization of reservists or time-expired conscripts now with the Colours. Those serving in fortress units (Magnet Line, and the like) will be released on September 1, 1939, and in other units on October 1. The Prime Minister added that he reserved the right to accelerate their release should the international situation justify such action.

It seems probable that M. Daladier's decision, while clearly based in part on the hope and belief that the European situation will not grow worse, springs partly, too, from the knowledge that much hardship is being caused to the men in question by their continued retention with the Colours. Furthermore, defensive precautions have now been so well organized that fewer men are needed to secure the national defences against surprise.

FRENCH PREFERENCES ON CZECH GOODS

GERMAN REQUEST FOR CONTINUATION

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, JUNE 9

It now appears that the German Government are trying to get further economic advantages from the annexation of Bohemia and Moravia at the expense of other countries. They have asked the French Government to maintain in full all the preferential quotas accorded to independent Czecho-Slovakia by France—accorded at the time because France desired to assist Czecho-Slovakia in a period of economic difficulty.

In March of this year French representatives went to Berlin to discuss with the German Government the possibility of crediting to the Sudetenland some of the quotas then held by Czecho-Slovakia. With the annexation of Prague the talks were broken off, as reported in *The Times* then. French exporters were warned not to send goods to Bohemia and Moravia and exports from the old Czecho-Slovakia to France were held up. On May 2 trade talks between France and Germany were resumed. The Reich now wants the Protectorate to benefit in full from all the Czecho-Slovak preferential quotas on the French market.

HOPES FOR MONSOON IN BOMBAY

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, JUNE 9

Meteorologists predict that to-day's rains herald the arrival of the Monsoon. After the intermittent showers of the last few days the sky is now overcast, and there was heavy rain this morning; but the weather is entirely lacking in those uniform conditions which are usually associated with the bursting of the

Telegrams in Brief

Three men were killed and one was seriously injured when a shell which had lain buried in a field near Craiova in RUMANIA since the Great War exploded.

Twenty-seven RUSSIAN Army airmen have carried out for the first time a mass parachute jump by night from a height of over 16,500ft. without oxygen equipment.—*Exchange*.

M. Sidor, a deputy in the SLOVAK Parliament, has been appointed Minister to the Holy See and is to leave for Rome as soon as the appointment of a Papal Nuncio to Bratislava is announced.

General Noguès, the French Resident-General in Morocco, has returned to CASABLANCA from his visit to Gibraltar. Both he and his staff were greatly impressed by the warmth of their reception at Gibraltar.

The capital of the China Printing and Finishing Company's mill at Pootung and printing works at Nantao, to which reference was made in the SHANGHAI message in *The Times* yesterday, is £2,000,000, not £2,000 as was inadvertently stated.

Mr. Peter Ransome, a 29-year-old British irrigation engineer, was mortally injured and Mr. J. White, another British motorist, was seriously hurt in a motor accident near ALOR STAR, Malaya, late on Thursday night when returning from the King's Birthday garden party at the British Residency.—*Reuter*.

Brigadier H. Currey, on behalf of General Sir Edmund Ironside, the Governor of Gibraltar, called officially yesterday on Colonel Sotomayer, the Military Governor of ALGECIRAS. The Brigadier crossed over in the Governor's barge and was received at Algeciras pier by a guard of honour of Spanish infantry and a salute from Fort Santiago.

The French police have discovered an organization at MENTONE for smuggling German and Italian Jewish refugees into France. Refugees were rowed out to sea from the Italian coast, picked up by a fishing boat, landed after dark, and sent off to Nice in a taxicab, the drivers of which were in the organization. Two fishermen and two taxi-drivers have been arrested.

A SIAMESE air squadron is expected in Singapore on July 4 on a two-day good-will visit. The airmen will see a demonstration of bombing by R.A.F. machines and other aspects of training, will visit the air and naval bases, and will be the guests of Sir Shenton Thomas, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and of Air Vice-Marshal J. T. Babington, the Air Officer Commanding at Singapore.—*Reuter*.

Book prizes awarded by the British Council to SIAMESE students for the highest marks obtained in English subjects at Chulalongkorn University and at Bangkok schools were presented recently at the Legation in Bangkok by the British Minister, Sir Josiah Crosby. One of the winners was Princess Vimalachatra (daughter of the late Prince Purachatra), who, since the examination, has married a Mom Chao Prince.

Another fireman—the eighth—has died as a result of burns from the nitric acid fumes released in an explosion at CHATELAUDREN, near St. Brieuc, on Wednesday. The Prefect of the Côtes du Nord Department has sealed up all entrances to the printing works in which the explosion took place, and the people of Châtelaudren have been warned not to wear any clothes they were wearing on the day of the explosion.

END OF YUGOSLAV STATE VISIT TO GERMANY

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BERLIN, JUNE 9

The Prince Regent and Princess Paul of Yugoslavia ended their State visit to Germany late last night, when they left by train for Yugoslavia from Friedrichswalde, near Field-Marshal Göring's estate on the Schorfheide, where they had been spending the last 36 hours. Party formations and detachments from the surrounded

Times
12/6

THE ROYAL TRIUMPH

WELCOME IN NEW YORK

VISIT TO WORLD FAIR

CHEERS OF THREE MILLIONS

BACK TO CANADA

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW YORK, JUNE 11

After spending yesterday acknowledging the great but exhausting welcome of New York and to-day quietly recovering at the Roosevelts' country house at Hyde Park, the King and Queen rejoined the royal train late this evening and left for Canada. Their brief rest with the Presi-



dent and his family and a few guests on the pleasant shores of the Hudson River was essential to them after by far the most exacting week-end of their journey. They sail for England on Thursday.

In spite of their two busy days in Washington, the King and Queen rose at about 7 o'clock yesterday morning to face New York, and from that moment until the evening their time ceased to be their own.

At an hour when most people are still in bed, the King was reviewing a detachment of the Fort Hancock Coast Artillery, which formed the guard of honour at Red Bank, whither the royal train had come overnight from Washington. The King wore morning dress, and the Queen a light blue dress and flowing cloak of the same colour, with a small hat with blue ostrich-feathers. She had two strings of large pearls, and both she and the King looked very well.

TO SANDY HOOK

The procession set out for Sandy Hook, where the destroyer Warrington was waiting to take the King to New York. On the way the crowds continued to break through the cordons of police who had been instructed to subordinate their in-

were in front of them on the drop seats. On the running board at each side of the driver's seat a secret service man stood facing the crowd, and about a dozen policemen on motor-cycles formed a ring round the car all the way.

A MILLION CHILDREN

At 72nd Street the procession turned right into Central Park, an enormous area which means as much to New York as Hyde Park means to London. Here were children, numbering almost 1,000,000, who cheered themselves hoarse. The cars stayed in the Park until they reached 96th Street, and then swung right again until they came to the river bounding Manhattan East Side, and finally crossed the Triborough Bridge into the Borough of Queens. From here to the Fair the party moved along one of those supreme motor-ing boulevards for which America is justly famed.

Their Majesties arrived at the Fair 40 minutes behind their scheduled time, but carried through the full programme, although they were obviously feeling the strain of the severe heat and the two arduous days in Washington. A troop of mounted Indians from Kansas, clad in tunics and breeches, with wide-brimmed hats, escorted the party from the Gate to Perylon Hall, where Mr. Grover Whalen, president of the Fair Corporation, and Mrs. Whalen welcomed their Majesties. Here the royal signatures were entered in the guest book, and several of the more prominent guests were introduced to the King and Queen.

IN THE COURT OF PEACE

Leaving the Hall, their Majesties drove up Constitution Mall past several American buildings until they came to the Government zone. They stopped in front of the Federal Building on the open-air Court of Peace, which is larger than the Horse Guards Parade, and on alighting beheld a scene which was wonderfully rich in pageantry and colour. On opposite sides of the Court, at right-angles to the dignified Federal Building, were the Halls of the Nations, coloured in cream and flying the flags of 20 different nations. Between them stood long lines of marines, sailors, and soldiers facing thousands of the public.

Time being short, the King did not review the troops after the British National Anthem had been played, but walked into the Federal Building to attend the informal luncheon given by the United States Commissioner-General. Thereupon the band of the United States Navy detachment began playing no less a piece than the British military tune "The British Grenadiers," and this delightful gesture seemed to put every one in a light mood. The men then marched away, and their place was taken by thousands of Boy Scouts and schoolchildren, who settled down happily on the ground while a band played for them such popular pieces as "Three little fishes" and "Let me call you sweetheart." The children were awaiting the appearance of the King and Queen on the terrace in front of the Federal Building, but when their Majesties did reappear to stand alone, while the National Anthem was played again, the children's view of them was partly obscured by photographers, who jumped upon the Press tables.

EMPIRE PAVILIONS

The whole party then moved away to visit the Eire Pavilion in the Hall of Nations and also the other Pavilions of the British Empire. In the Canadian Pavilion their Majesties and Mr. Mackenzie King, the Canadian Prime Minister, stood before a huge illuminated map of the Dominion spread over the wall, and were photographed. From there they went to the Southern Rhodesian Building, and then across the

A DAY OF REST

ON THE ROOSEVELT ESTATE

PICNICKING WITH THE PRESIDENT

From Our Special Correspondent

POUGHKEEPSIE, JUNE 11

On leaving Columbia University yesterday the King and Queen retraced the highway along Hudson cleared and motored 70 miles north to the Roosevelt's country home at Poughkeepsie, near here, where they spent the rest of the week-end as the guests of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt. The President's mother, Mrs. Sarah Roosevelt, now aged 85.

The route ran along the wooded banks of the Hudson, and all the way the cars were still gathered by the roadside. It was not until the cars swung through the wide gates of the Roosevelt estate that finally their Majesties' long day in public eye ended. Dinner was served at 9.15, 75 minutes late, the guests being confined to some members of the royal tourage, the Roosevelt family, and Mr. Roosevelt's personal friends. Other members of the royal party were entertained by the President's neighbours.

To-day the King and Queen spent a quiet day. In the morning every one went into Hyde Park Village and attended divine service in the tiny St. James's Episcopal Church, where the President has worshipped since boyhood. Only 20 persons could be seated inside, and many hundreds who would have liked to go contented themselves with waiting outside. Bishop Tucker, of New York, chairman of the Council of Protestant Episcopal Churches in America, officiated.

On returning from church the King and Queen joined in a picnic luncheon arranged in the grounds by Mrs. Roosevelt. The scene of this was the top of a hill on the estate where the President has built himself a stone cottage to which he can retire for privacy. The porch looks down on a full sweep of the Hudson River, and in the shade of this every one enjoyed the picnic fare.

FAREWELLS AT STATION

After luncheon Mr. Roosevelt drove his guests himself in his own car to another part of the huge Roosevelt grounds, and the party stopped at Val Kill cottage, owned by the President's wife. There the King and Mr. Roosevelt had a swim in the open-air pool. The President also preferred to drive himself when the party went from the Roosevelt mansion to the picnic grounds, a distance of some two miles. At dinner their Majesties sat down in private at the President's table with a few guests for the last time.

After dinner the King and Queen took leave of their hosts at Hyde Park Station and boarded the royal train, which was due to cross the border at Rouse's Point at 6 a.m. (New York State time). Because of the inconvenient hour their Majesties requested that no official of the United States Government should accompany them to the border, but that all farewells should be said at Hyde Park.

Before boarding the train the King presented to Mr. Roosevelt a silver-gilt ink-pot bearing the Royal Arms.

The destroyer—one of the Atlantic Squadron—lay anchored in the haze of a morning which was warm but not oppressive. Sailors in white trousers and jerseys manned the rails, and six standing at the gangway piped the King over the side while the Royal Standard was run up to the masthead. Among the officers on the bridge, with their white uniforms and gold epaulettes, the King was easily distinguished in his grey suit, while the Queen was followed by equerries carrying sheaves of flowers which had been presented to her. The flash of a 21-gun salute stabbed the sultry air, and from a coastguard vessel near by the American flag was run up, while sailors stood at the salute along the rails and the soldiers on the quay presented arms.

Then the Warrington moved out and headed towards the Bay and Manhattan Island. A flotilla of small craft followed the ship, while "flying fortresses" and silver pursuit aeroplanes dipped overhead. The huge figure of Liberty brandished her torch above the waters on their left. The upper half of Manhattan Island was obscured by haze, but they could see the immense straddle of Brooklyn Bridge. They could see "downtown," and its skyscrapers rising in clustering tiers and terraces to the pinnacles of Wall Street. As they drew nearer, they could see the crowds thronging the streets, like ants at the foot of colossal trees, and filling the windows up to the twentieth and thirtieth floors.

They landed at the Battery, a few yards from the spot where Sir Guy Carleton, last representative of the British Crown to command in New York City, went aboard the frigate *Ceres* and sailed away for England. Sir Guy Carleton was compelled to surrender the keys. But King George was met by Mr. La Guardia, the Mayor of New York, and Mr. Lehman, Governor of New York State, while the sirens of every ship in harbour screamed a salute, the fire floats flung up great parabolas of coloured spray, and hundreds of thousands of Americans acclaimed him.

The drive from the Battery to the World's Fair occupied an hour instead of half an hour as had been intended, the reason being that the King and Queen themselves expressed the wish to travel at only 15 m.p.h. in order that they might see as much as possible of the city and its inhabitants. It was a happy thought, much appreciated by the 3,500,000 people lining the route, all of whom were so orderly in their behaviour as fully to justify their Majesties' friendly attitude. The crowd was typical of New York in summer time. Many men were in straw hats and white shoes, wearing no jackets, and many women were without stockings or hats. Some of these called out "Hullo, King!" in the friendliest way, and altogether the hour's drive gave their Majesties a good opportunity of experiencing how free and easy Americans can be.

* The King and Queen sat together in an open black motor-car, and Governor Lehman and the Mayor, Mr. La Guardia,

Emerging from the New Zealand Pavilion the royal visitors entered an enclosure outside the main entrance of the British building, where the Consular Corps of New York, a few British ex-Service men, and a small number of guests awaited them. The British Ambassador presented Mr. Godfrey Haggard, the Consul-General, who then presented the staff of the Consulate-General; and Mr. Emil Horn, Consul of the Union of South Africa, and his Consulate staff, and Sirdar Singh Malik, Trade Commissioner for India, were also presented. A few British subjects were then introduced, and later, in the art section of the British Pavilion, Lady Lindsay introduced some 20 prominent American and British men and women, among them Mr. J. P. Morgan, who had had a long conversation with the King at the Embassy garden party in Washington.

After the official presentations, the King and Queen walked slowly through the British Pavilion. Both stopped frequently to examine the exhibits, and the Queen was pleased to see in the main hall upstairs a Highland woman, in plaid and white cap, sitting among tartans and tweeds, busily turning a spinning-wheel. This was the Highland home industries exhibit, which is normally part of the "Merrie England" concession in the amusement area, and was installed in the Pavilion specially for this occasion. The King and Queen signed their names here also in the guest book as they were about to step out into the English garden. Here 200 British ex-Service men, including a few West Indian negroes, were drawn up, and the King passed down their line before he and the Queen took their leave of the Pavilion and the Fair.

From the Fair ground their Majesties were taken at full speed along sweeping driveways and across huge bridges with an escort of Jehus on motor-cycles, the police sirens screeching exactly as is often heard in American films. With detectives clinging to the running boards they swept through Fifth Avenue and through Central Park. They slowed down along Amsterdam Avenue and in Harlem, where thousands of negroes—hardly a white face among them—waved British and American flags and wildly cheered the King and Queen of England. The procession raced up a short hill to swing round a corner and draw up before a stately facade and long stone steps of Columbia University. They were met by the President of the University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, in scarlet robes, and were conducted past clapping members of the faculty in gowns and tasselled hats to the library, where Dr. Butler showed them the original charter of the University which was granted by King George II, and the King and Queen signed the visitors' book. The ceremony was very brief but dignified, and their Majesties had some talk with Dr. Butler, who is a firm friend of Great Britain in this country.

Pictures on pages 14 and 16

Six men were killed in an explosion on Saturday in a coalmine near Liege. The Sultan of Morocco sailed from Casablanca yesterday for France, where he will stay for a month. Miss Jacobson, leader of the Scottish ambulance unit in Spain, is on her way home from Madrid, where she has been winding up the affairs of the unit. Professor Torra has been elected President

MONTREAL OVERDRAFT
OF £8,000,000
BANKS REFUSE CREDITS

OTTAWA, JUNE 11

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

TORONTO, JUNE 11

The Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, Mr. Albert Matthews, has received the following message from the King:—

"The Queen and I thank you sincerely for your kind telegram expressing the loyalty and affection of the people of Ontario, of which we have had such abundant proof wherever we have been in the Province. Both in the capital city and in all other cities and townships of Ontario we have been received with a warmth and friendliness that we shall never forget."

Mr. Matthews had sent a telegram, saying that their Majesties were being followed with the loving thoughts and good wishes of all the people of Ontario, whose loyalty had been strengthened through their Majesties manifesting by gracious act and kindly manner their interest in the citizens of the Province and their daily life.

The Governor-General and Lady Tweedsmuir, accompanied by their staff, left Ottawa on Friday night for Quebec to sail in the Empress of Britain to Halifax (Nova Scotia), where they will bid farewell to their Majesties. Lord and Lady Tweedsmuir will remain 10 days at Halifax.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CANBERRA, JUNE 11

Lord Gowrie, the Governor-General sent a telegram to the King on the occasion of their Majesties' visit to the Australian Pavilion at the New York World's Fair expressing the pleasure of the Dominions at their visit and hoping that they would find the pavilion representative of Australian life and work and symbolic of the Commonwealth's place and significance in the world. He thanked the Majesties for the special contribution which they were making towards strengthening the friendship between the peoples of the Empire and the United States, which the Australians believed to be of supreme importance to themselves and to the wellbeing of all the peoples of the world.

before 9 p.m. yesterday, when the Royal Post Office in Jerusalem closed its wall-boxes were about to be exploded. Three Jewish letter-box exploded. The Assistant Superintendent of A. H. Silver, who hurried up to the damage, was slightly injured by an explosion, as was also a British Post Office cleaners were clearing up the debris of these explosions, they found a heavy package on the counter in the main hall contained a bomb, which exploded.

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT
JERUSALEM, JUN

14 CASUALTIES

REE EXPLOSIONS IN
JERUSALEM

POST

BOMBS IN THE

JEWESS'S BOMB IN A BASKET

LIFE SENTENCE PASSED

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

JERUSALEM, JUNE 12

Rachel Ohevami, a young Yemeni Jewess and a Palestinian citizen, was convicted by the Military Court here to-day of having carried a bomb into the Central Prison on Friday last. The Court accepted the plea of the defence, for which Mr. Goitein appeared, that the prisoner was under 18 years of age and therefore, instead of imposing the death penalty, sentenced her to imprisonment for life.

The prisoner, who declined to make any statement, accepted the sentence stoically. She is the second Jewess to have appeared before a Military Court, the other being a girl who was acquitted in another bombing case; and is the first to be sentenced to imprisonment for life under the British Occupation. The only witness called by the defence was an expert, who gave evidence as to the prisoner's age.

A BOY'S SUSPICIONS

The case for the prosecution was that at 9.20 a.m. last Friday an Arab boy aged eight was stopped outside the Central Prison in the Russian Compound by a veiled woman in Moslem dress, who asked him to carry her basket of food into the prison with her as she was to visit a relative there. The boy's suspicions were aroused by the strange dialect used by the woman, by the extraordinary weight of the basket, and above all by the presence of Jewish bread on the top of it. He took the basket near the gates of the prison, where he returned it to the woman, who gave him 10 mills. He then told an Arab constable of his suspicions. The basket was accordingly seized by the police.

British constables gave evidence to the effect that on emptying the contents of the basket they had found therein a heavy tin under some bread and fruit. When examined in the C.I.D. laboratories the tin was found to be a bomb containing 11lb. of iron rivets, 12 sticks of gelignite, two detonators in working order, and a clockwork arrangement for their electrical ignition.

The defence urged that the prisoner had been the victim of an exchange of baskets effected by evilly-disposed persons, and that her use of Moslem dress for a visit to the prison was usual; but the prisoner declined to make any statement and no further witnesses were called for the defence.

Thirteen Arab workmen were wounded, one of them mortally and three seriously, when a land-mine was exploded this morning by electric current under a Public Works Department lorry in the Akva quarter of Tiberias. A curfew was imposed and police dogs followed a trail from the scene of the explosion into Rabbi Meir Street, where it was lost.

JERUSALEM, June 12.—A British soldier was killed and three other soldiers and three Jewish supernumerary policemen were injured when a military lorry overturned this afternoon on the road between Jerusalem and Jericho.—*Exchange*.

GERMAN CHIEF OF STAFF TO VISIT BALTIC STATES

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BERLIN, JUNE 12

General Halder, Chief of the Army General Staff, has accepted invitations to visit Finland and Estonia towards the end of June, to repay the visits to Germany some time ago of the Commander-in-Chief of the Finnish Army and the Chief of Staff of Estonia.

Telegrams in Brief

For the first time since September, 1936, the Automobile Association is now able to issue touring documents to motorists visiting Spain.

The PARAGUAYAN Electoral College has proclaimed General José Estigarribia President of the Republic, and Señor Luis Riart Vice-President for the period 1939-1943.

The FRENCH Minister of Marine has instructed the Naval Attaché in Washington to inquire about the possibility of buying four diving bells such as that used in rescuing members of the crew of the sunken submarine Squalus.

A contract for the construction of three submarines for the PORTUGUESE Navy has been secured by an Italian shipyard, the Cantieri Navali Tosi, of Taranto. The total cost of the submarines is estimated at 90,000,000 lire (approximately £1,000,000).

As a result of the new commercial agreement recently signed between ITALY and ARGENTINA arrangements have been completed for the purchase by Italy of large quantities of maize. Under the agreement trade between the two countries is on the basis of balanced exchanges.

Three thousand Spanish Falangists who took part with the Italian legionaries in the recent victory parade in Rome, were warmly welcomed at MILAN yesterday. A reception was held at the Town Hall, and in the evening the Spanish officers were the guests of the Milan Military Club.

A memorial service for those who lost their lives in the submarine Thetis was held in St. George's Cathedral, CAPE TOWN. It was conducted by the Coadjutor-Bishop of Capetown (the Right Rev. Sydney W. Lavis), and the congregation included Vice-Admiral G. Hamilton D'Oyly Lyon, Commander-in-Chief, Africa Station.—*Reuter*.

The first Report of the Transport Board, FEDERATED MALAY STATES, for the 17 months ended December 31, 1938, contains an account of how hundreds of individual proprietors (very many of them Chinese) of one or more competing road-vehicles were persuaded to group themselves in limited liability companies to operate organized transport services running to time under restricted monopolies. The Report illustrates the immense improvement thereby effected in the quality of the vehicles employed and in the scope of the services provided.

THE CARDINAL OF QUEBEC IN PARIS

EMBASSY LUNCHEON

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, JUNE 12

The British Ambassador and Lady Phipps gave a luncheon at the British Embassy to-day in honour of Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec, the Papal Legate. Among those present were:—

Mgr. Valerio Valeri, Titular Archbishop of Ephesus and Papal Nuncio; Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris; the Minister of Eire and Mrs. Murphy; the Minister of Pensions and Mme. Champetier de Ribes; Mgr. Edward Myers, Titular Bishop of Lamus and Auxiliary to the Archbishop of Westminster; the Assistant Political Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Comtesse de la Baume; General Gouraud; Vice-Admiral Lacaze, of the Académie Française; Comte Jean de Castellane, Comte de La Mazelière, the Comte and Comtesse de Fels, M. and Mme. Lucien Romier, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mme. André Bron, the Comtesse de Bertier de Sauvigny and Mlle. Sylvie de Bertier de Sauvigny, Sir Alfred and Lady Tebbitt, the Hon. Mrs. Mervyn Herbert, Mrs. Ward, and Mr. Hilaire Belloc.

The Ambassador, who was called to London last week for consultation with the British Government, was detained in London and therefore unable to be present.

Other Foreign News on page 18

land . . .

13/6
Miss

A FRIENDSHIP DEEPENED

AMERICA AND THE KING

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

NATIONS WITHOUT FEAR

The King and Queen left the United States and re-entered Canada yesterday morning. They spent the day in the train, which ran through the eastern part of Quebec Province, on their journey through Eastern Canada—the last stage of their tour.

The visit to the United States has been a resounding success. It is described as having deepened the understanding between the two great English-speaking peoples.

The President himself referred to this in a speech yesterday, when he said that the significance of the royal visit lay in the fact that friendship could exist between the two countries since both were without fear.

From Our Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON, JUNE 12

The four days spent by the King and Queen on American soil have been described to the last observable detail, and all editorial commentaries on the occasion are alike in their acknowledgment of the sure hold which their Majesties have gained upon popular liking and respect. Let it be added that millions of American people went cheerfully half-way to offer what their guests have won and will hold.

The visit, in all that it evoked of mutual good will, has been a resounding success. On one hand were the young couple, visibly delighted by all they saw, and on the other were the huge crowds, happy in their delight and unfeignedly glad to heighten it. In a world darkened by enmity and suspicion it was a glimpse of friendliness emergent, and this gave the event its prime importance. If friendliness has—as it must have—a political value, these four days have been valuable indeed.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

It would be wrong to consider the royal visit as something complete in itself. Rather it is a part, and it has been a significant part, of that process of growth in mutual understanding in which the English-speaking peoples are engaged. Democracy, it has been said, finds its best expression either within the forms of the republic or those of the constitutional monarchy. The people of a great republic have seen moving among them the symbol of a monarchy, and not only have they been stirred by the quiet dignity of the King, who personifies it, but in the figure of the Queen have felt how it may be enriched by those warm human qualities which are more enduring than symbols. To say this is to do honour to both sides.

There will be much talk of some political significance more tangible than good will, but this will be out of tune with the occasion. In the persons of millions of citizens, and for the other tens of millions by the

and pacific conduct of her international relations, but that desire for peace must not be mistaken for weakness. During recent months there had been dramatic illustrations of the fate of undefended nations, and greater emphasis than ever was now placed on the need for the vitalization of the United States defences. Technical changes had transformed modern warfare, yet recent conflicts in Europe, the Far East, and Africa showed that the individual soldier remained the controlling factor. Especially was this true of the United States, in which the vast territory demanded that units should be mobile and should be led by officers with a capacity for individual leadership.

NEW YORK LOOKS BACK

Reluctantly New York returned to normal to-day after an exciting and extraordinary week-end. In the words of the *New York Herald Tribune* this morning, the city "has never taken distinguished strangers so completely to its heart as it did this slender young King, by turns solemn and smiling, and his ever charming young Queen," and it seemed strange to-day that two such good friends had already left the country. The songs sung by well-wishers when the royal party left Hyde Park last night—"Auld Lang Syne" and "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow"—must have expressed the mood of a great many people to-day.

Thus ended a visit which required more local preparation and aroused more doubts and misgivings beforehand than any which had previously been made to this most experienced city. Before their Majesties came there was a feeling that too much could not be done to ensure that the occasion should pass off smoothly, in every sense of the word. There is now a feeling that on Saturday the royal pair were too much hemmed in: New York believes that it should have been allowed to let itself go more.

"DOING A GRAND JOB"

The reason for the change lies purely in the personal impression made by the King and Queen. Americans who took up their positions in the streets with a feeling of friendliness and intense curiosity, left almost with affection in their hearts, declaring, "Those two are doing a grand job." That is high praise in America, and those who said it on Saturday intended no political innuendo. They meant that their Majesties were carrying through, with good grace, good nature, and a proper simplicity, an extremely tiring programme on an exhausting day.

Yesterday the King and Queen enormously enjoyed the relaxation at Hyde Park, and the exchange of autographed photographs and other presents with the Roosevelt family at the end of the day can be regarded as more than a formal act of courtesy.

THE KING'S THANKS TO AMERICA

"OUR HEARTS STIRRED"

PHILADELPHIA, June 12.—The King sent the following message to President Roosevelt:—

"The Queen and I are deeply grateful, Mr. President, to Mrs. Roosevelt and yourself for your hospitality during the past four days.

"The kindness shown us personally by you both was endorsed by your fellow countrymen and countrywomen with a cordiality that has stirred our hearts.

"In Washington, in New York, indeed wherever we have been in the United States, we have been accorded a reception of which the friendliness was unmistakable.

"Though this was our first visit to your great country, and though it was necessarily only a brief one, it has given us memories of kindly feeling and good will that we shall always treasure.

"To you, our host, and to the many thousands of American citizens who also showed us such true hospitality and such spontaneous courtesy we send our heartfelt thanks and our best wishes.

United States have joyfully returned the cordial greeting which his Majesty brought them as King of Canada, of the United Kingdom, of the other Dominions, and as Head of a far-flung Empire. As Chief Magistrate of the American State, President Roosevelt, it is noted here to-day, went out of his way to make the strongest point he could on the occasion of the White House dinner. The President said nothing out of harmony with the state of popular feeling, as that has been so abundantly made manifest. He pointed out, as the times demand, the value of frank and friendly dealing in the devising of a more humane and intelligent system of international relations; and nothing more could be said or needed to be said.

"WE LIKE THE BRITISH"

This morning the *New York Times* describes the spontaneous expression of American good will and hospitality as a tribute "as much to the British people as to their Sovereigns." The writer continues:—

We like the British because we understand them better than most foreigners. And, after all, why shouldn't we? They gave us our speech, our manners and customs, and after a little persuasion by the Continental Army, our country itself.

It is noted that Germany seems officially annoyed because the Anglo-Saxon peoples are "having a good time together," and that the "sour note in the German Press sounds slightly nervous." But (the writer adds):—

Germany perhaps will be relieved to know that our enthusiastic welcome to the British King and Queen does not mean that we are about to rush into war beside Great Britain. But it does voice the ardent desire for peace and friendship, for sympathetic understanding and for the unity of two strong nations in a distracted world. It would be foolish for any nation to ignore it.

PRESIDENT ON THE VISIT

PEACE AND STRENGTH

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, JUNE 12

After saying good-bye to the King at Hyde Park last night, President Roosevelt to-day attended graduation exercises at the United States Military Academy at West Point, about 30 miles from Hyde Park. Addressing young officers, the President referred to the King's visit as a courteous recognition of the cordiality and good will prevailing between two great nations.

The visit's significance, he said, lay in the fact that friendship could exist between the two countries since both were without fear. To achieve that result, strength was needed; strength coming not from arms alone but from restraint, understanding, and cooperation, which are the products of trained and disciplined minds.

The United States (said Mr. Roosevelt) sought to remain at peace by the honourable

As a result of the new commercial agreement (approximately £1,000,000,000).

The submarines is estimated at 90,000,000 lire (approximately £1,000,000,000).

A contract for the construction of three submarines for the Portuguese Navy has been secured by an Italian shipyard, the Cantieri Navali Tosi, of Turin. The total cost of the submarines is estimated at 90,000,000 lire (approximately £1,000,000,000).

The French Minister of Marine has instructed the Naval Attaché in Washington to inquire about the possibility of buying four diving bells such as that used in rescuing members of the crew of the sunken submarine *Squalus*.

For the first time since September, 1936, the Automobile Association is now able to issue touring documents to motorists visiting Spain.

Telegrams in Brief

National Archives of Australia

IL

the

rest

hab

more

very

ende

Fe

Th

Ch

G

and

Cape

cond

St

lives

A

re

the

well

rec

look

Th

ex

the

of

for

the

men

JEWESS'S BOMB IN A BASKET

NAA: A981, UNI T73 PART 2

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

Page 64

USA. UK

WHITEHALL 1511



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R. 1457.

Air Mail - 9.6.39.
Due to Arrive - 19.6.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES.

I enclose a report from The Times of 9th June of
the arrival of King George and Queen Elizabeth in Washington
on 8th June.

Alfred Stirling

WASHINGTON WELCOMES THEIR MAJESTIES

GREAT RECEPTION BY EAGER CROWDS

SUNSHINE AND CHEERS

THE PROCESSION TO THE WHITE HOUSE

Great crowds welcomed the King and Queen when they arrived in Washington yesterday.

The President and Mrs. Roosevelt met them at the station, and they drove in procession with an imposing military escort to the White House along a two-mile route which took them past the Capitol, amid the cheers of hundreds of thousands of spectators.

In the afternoon their Majesties were present at a garden party at the British Embassy, and last night there was a state banquet at the White House, at which the President and the King exchanged cordial speeches, referring to the bonds of friendship between the two countries.

PRESIDENT AND KING

A HISTORIC DAY

From Our Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON, JUNE 8

The King and Queen have spent their first day in the capital of the United States, and wherever they have moved their welcome from great crowds of people has had that quality of spontaneity which is beyond price. It can be said, too, that their Majesties' bearing has entirely captivated the hundreds of thousands who lined the streets to greet them wherever they went through a long and oppressively hot day.

The long blue and white train bringing the King and Queen to Washington rolled in punctually at 11 o'clock this morning.

"Well, at last I greet you," were the words with which the President welcomed the King. Mr. Roosevelt smiled broadly as the King advanced and shook him firmly by the hand. The King then replied, "Mr. President, it is a pleasure for her Majesty and myself to be here. We look forward to our stay in Washington, and the Queen was then cordially

the figure of the commander of the Tank Corps standing erect in his turret and holding the American flag. An English ear, moreover, heard a homely note in Elgar's "Land of Hope and Glory," played by some of the many American bands set at junction points along the road.

INFORMAL LUNCHEON

As the procession ended and the huge crowds broke up, and began to pack the streets of the city, there took place in the historic East Room of the White House what is called "a Diplomatic Circle." The British Ambassador, who is also *doyen* of the Diplomatic Corps here, presented to King George the chiefs of the various missions accredited to the United States and their wives, after which Lady Lindsay presented them to Queen Elizabeth.

This ceremony was brief enough to give the royal visitors an opportunity to make ready for the afternoon. Their Majesties took luncheon at the White House, and the names of those asked to meet them at this "small informal" meal were not announced. They were understood to include members of the Roosevelt family, whose appearance during the parade had proved their popularity.

Then, heralded by the Press and awaited at various key points by enthusiastic groups of residents, came the *INA* of Royal sight-seeing. The King and Queen

Royal Victorian Order; and invested Mr. George Steward with the insignia of Commander of the Royal Victorian Order. The recipients wore their insignia at to-night's State Banquet at the White House.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

After dinner, the President, proposing the King's health, said:—

"Your Majesties, in the life of a nation, as in that of the individual, there are occasions that stand out in high relief. Such an occasion is the present one, when the entire United States is welcoming on its soil the King and Queen of Great Britain, of our neighbour, Canada, and of all the far-flung British Commonwealth of Nations. It is an occasion for festivities, but it is also fitting that we give thanks for the bonds of friendship that link our two peoples.

"I am persuaded that the greatest single contribution our two countries have been able to make to civilization and to the welfare of peoples throughout the world is the example we have jointly set by our manner of conducting relations between our two nations.

"It is because each nation is lacking in fear of the other that we have unfortified borders between us. It is because neither of us fears aggression on the part of the other that we have entered no race of armaments one against the other.

TWO SMALL ISLANDS

"The King and I are aware of a recent episode. Two small uninhabited islands in the centre of the Pacific became of sudden interest to the British Empire and the United States as stepping-stones for commercial aeroplanes between America and Australia. Both nations claimed sovereignty. Both nations had good cases. To have entered into a long-drawn-out argument could have meant ill-will between us, and delay in the use of the islands by either nation. It was suggested that the problem be solved by the joint use of both islands by both nations, and by a gentleman's agreement to defer the question of ultimate sovereignty until the year 1989. The passage of 50 years will solve many problems.

"If this illustration of the use of the methods of peace divorced from aggression could only be universally followed, relations between all countries would rest upon a sure foundation, and men and women everywhere could once more look upon a happy, prosperous, and peaceful world.

"May this kind of understanding between our countries grow ever closer, and may our friendship prosper. Ladies and gentlemen, we drink to the health of his Majesty, King George VI."

THE KING'S REPLY

The King replied:—

"The visit which the Queen and I are paying you to-day is something which has been in our minds for many weeks, and if we have had our moments of anxiety, they have served to make us realize how intensely we have been looking forward to the present occasion. I wish, therefore, in the first place to thank you for your kind invitation and for your still kinder welcome. We have been deeply touched by the manner in which Washington has already received us; and we expect to enjoy every minute of our remaining time in the United States.

"From Canada, which we have just left and whither we shall soon return, I bring you to-day the warm greetings of a neighbour and a trusted friend. From my other Dominions, from the United Kingdom, and from all my Empire, I carry to you

greeted by the President and Mrs. Roosevelt.

The long process of formal presentation followed, beginning when their Majesties' suite was presented to the President and Mrs. Roosevelt.

EAGER SPECTATORS

When the ceremony was concluded the President and Mrs. Roosevelt escorted the King and Queen out to the front of the station, where a guard of honour was drawn up and military honours were rendered. The British and American national anthems were played by the United States Marine Corps band and a salute of 21 guns was fired.

The sun was shining and a light breeze blew across the broad plaza on to which the beautiful station building looks out, and here there were great masses of eager spectators. Washington, which has long been hardened to parades and processions, was evidently ready to be enthusiastic about this one, which took the President and the King in one car, and Mrs. Roosevelt and the Queen in another, with an imposing military escort, to the White House.

It took about a quarter of an hour to cover the parade route—by Delaware Avenue to the Capitol, down Constitution Avenue, where the great new public buildings are, to Pennsylvania Avenue, and then, with only one change, by the way which every President takes when the ceremony of his inauguration is over; for to-day's procession crossed Treasury Place and entered the White House grounds by the south-east and not the north-east gate. Aeroplanes roared overhead, tanks lumbered before the procession, cavalry and field artillery moved with it, and sailors, infantrymen and engineers presented arms as it passed, while the cheering of hundreds of thousands gave it its ultimate reason for being.

A GREAT CHEER

All eyes were upon the King and Queen, and they fulfilled the promise of their Canadian triumph. His Majesty, in the full dress uniform of an Admiral of the Fleet, riding with the President, came first in the line. A murmur of expectancy rose to a great cheer as he passed, but the tide of sound lifted even higher as the Queen came into sight. She was wearing a powdered mauve dress and a coat of the same colour, and a small straw hat with mauve ostrich feathers, and was carrying a parasol. It had been noted, while she stood before the station and the Marine Band played, that when the American National Anthem—the mounting clear cadences of "The Star-spangled Banner"—broke upon the air, her eyes filled and she put up her hand to clear her sight. Word of this passed from mouth to mouth, and the simple action set her in the people's hearts.

Those in the royal party who had never seen Washington before were at once struck by the breadth and sweep of Pennsylvania Avenue—broader even than the Mall and giving easy passage to a full column of cavalry riding 24 abreast, with space between them and the spectators on either side. An English eye was held by the beauty and disciplined superbness of the chestnut horses of the cavalry, which included a negro troop, and the white horses of the Field Artillery, and by

drove in an open car, with the invariable attendant army of secret service men, and they made their first stop at the majestic foursquare mass within which is the heroic seated figure of Abraham Lincoln. It ranks with the great obelisk which is Washington's monument as one of the cynosures of the City—to be joined some day but never to be surpassed by a memorial to Thomas Jefferson—and when it has been seen it can never be forgotten. Their Majesties also saw the still unfinished Protestant Cathedral of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and they passed through Rock Creek, where it was the frolicsome habit of Theodore Roosevelt to challenge his friends of the diplomatic body to feats of climbing and endurance.

ROYAL GARDEN PARTY

By the time the King and Queen had returned to the White House guests were beginning to flock towards the British Embassy, where "by command of his Majesty" nearly 1,500 had been invited to a garden party. They were bidden to come early for the traffic regulations would lock the streets of approach. Their Majesties left the White House through lines of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides drawn up along the Lower Drive through the grounds, and their passage was called "a review." The royal car paused long enough for the King to receive a 40,000,000-year-old shark's tooth, and the Queen a bouquet of flowers, and for both to hear the cheering of thousands of youngsters. Then it moved forward along a route so contrived as to give the maximum number a chance to renew their morning's greeting, and it brought the King and Queen to the Embassy at 5 o'clock. They made their appearance on the porch, which looks out on to the Embassy grounds; and there with a group of notables they were photographed before they walked down into the garden, to pass through the gathering of their guests.

The sun blazed down relentlessly, and only those men who—at Lady Lindsay's suggestion—came in the white clothes of Washington summer time could pretend to personal comfort. But the heat was forgotten as the King with the British Ambassador and the Queen with Lady Lindsay made a circular tour of the garden, stopping here and there to greet their guests.

In the evening the King and Queen attended a State Dinner at the White House, to which the President and Mrs. Roosevelt had invited about 100 guests.

These included all the members of the royal party, Mr. Mackenzie King, Vice-President and Mrs. Garner, Mrs. Charles Evans Hughes, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, members of the United States Cabinet, and members of the President's family.

At the banquet the Queen wore a white tulle picture gown with a bodice embroidered with gold paillettes and a full skirt in three tiers of white tulle embroidered with gold sequins. She also wore a diamond necklace and tiara.

One of the King's first acts after reaching American soil was to hold an Investiture in the royal train. At this he invested the British Ambassador, Sir Ronald Lindsay, with the insignia of a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath; knighted Mr. Alan Lascelles, his Assistant Private Secretary, and invested him with the insignia of Knight Commander of the

expressions of the utmost cordiality and good will. As I drink a toast to you, Mr. President, I wish you every possible health and happiness. I trust and believe that in the years to come the history of the United States will continue to be marked by that ordered progress and by that prosperity which have been theirs in the past, and I pray that our great nations may ever in the future walk together along the path of friendship in a world of peace."

In the musical programme after dinner the negro contribution to the national music received particular emphasis. First came a group of spirituals, and later Miss Marian Anderson, a negress contralto who has lately become very popular in this country, sang three songs. Other items were cowboy ballads, folk-songs, and an old English ballad found with many variations in the Appalachian country; and at the end there were songs by Mr. Lawrence Tibbett, the American baritone.

When the evening newspapers appeared the extent of the success of the visit became apparent. The enthusiasm of the crowds found an echo in headlines and leading articles, all of which give unrestrained praise to both the King and the Queen.

SPECIAL PRAYER IN SENATE

The Senate offered a special prayer for their Majesties, wherein thanks were expressed for "the ideals of government, liberty, and justice so largely inherited from the Mother Country to whom to-day America pays loving tribute as she welcomes to her heart the British Sovereign and his gracious Queen." Blessings were asked on them and their people as "we together face the problems of to-morrow in the spirit of closer friendship and of deeper consecration to our God."

WELCOME FROM NEW YORK PRESS

WARM FRIENDLINESS

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, JUNE 8

The New York newspapers to-day published many columns of description of their Majesties' arrival in the United States, the welcome given them at the border, their journey southwards, and the further welcome from the President and Mrs. Roosevelt at Washington. In the leading articles and even pervading most of the news reports was a spirit of warm friendliness that unquestionably reflected the feeling of a great majority of the American people.

Among typical expressions of this kind was that of the *World Telegram*, which said:—

The King and Queen "are greeted by the American people not merely as representatives of another great democracy or as Royalty, but as two great human beings who have won that distinction in their own right." This newspaper's leading article ended: "We like them, and we hope they like us."

The *New York Times* said that the greeting to-day was "more than a welcome to two kindly individuals," and emphasized that the King came, not as the representative of a political party, but representing all the people of England.

WHITEHALL 1511



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.1443.

Air Mail - 7.6.39.
Due to Arrive - 17.6.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES.

Relations with the United Kingdom.

I enclose a report of an English-Speaking^{Union} Conference
at the University at Birmingham on 3rd June.

Alfred Stirling

AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW

*Times
5/6*

THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BIRMINGHAM, JUNE 4

Described as a one-day Institute of American Affairs, a conference was held by the English-Speaking Union at Birmingham University yesterday. Professor R. Shugg, of Princeton University, U.S.A., was among the lecturers. Cordial messages were received from the Prime Minister and the American Ambassador.

The American Ambassador (Mr. Joseph Kennedy) wrote:—"We sometimes feel, in my country, that the people of England do not really understand the view point of the United States. Such understanding can come only from a knowledge of the history, the problems, and the aspirations of the American people. This knowledge is not, in my opinion, as widely disseminated in England as it might be. An institute like this should help to stimulate a desire for further knowledge."

A WORTHY OBJECT

The Prime Minister wrote:—"The promotion in this country of a wider comprehension of the varied political and social problems of the United States is an object worthy of every encouragement and support, and I feel confident that the present programme, which is, I understand, to be followed by similar ones, cannot fail to be of the greatest value and interest."

"It is particularly gratifying to me that so useful a project should be encouraged in the University of my native city."

National Archives of Australia

WHITEHALL 1511



26 MAY 1939

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

R.1323.

Air Mail 5.5.39.
Due to arrive 15.5.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

U.S.A.

Lord Lothian's appointment.

I enclose a copy of a question asked in
the House of Commons in reference to Lord Lothian's
appointment, and the Prime Minister's reply.

Alfred Stirling

94
ND
10

2

AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. Gallacher asked the Prime Minister whether he will acquaint the House of the reasons for going outside the Diplomatic Corps in the selection of an Ambassador to the United States of America?

The Prime Minister: The selection for the post of Ambassador at Washington of a person distinguished in public life who is not a member of His Majesty's Diplomatic Service is no innovation and the present appointment will, I am sure, prove no less beneficial to British interests than similar notably successful appointments in the past.

WH. ALL 1511



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.1278.

Air Mail - 26.4.39.
Due to Arrive - 6.5.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES.

Appointment of Lord Lothian.

I enclose:

- (a) The Times' report of Lord Lothian's appointment as Ambassador in Washington and also The Times leading article of 25th April;
- (b) Note by the Manchester Guardian's London correspondent;
- (c) Short leading article in the News Chronicle of 25th April.

Alfred Stirling

AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON

Times
25/4

LORD LOTHIAN'S NEW POST

SIR R. LINDSAY RETIRING

The Foreign Office issued the following announcement last night :—

"The King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Lothian, C.H., to be his Majesty's Ambassador



Lord Lothian

Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Washington, in succession to the Right Honourable Sir Ronald Lindsay, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., C.V.O., who is retiring in the course of the summer."

Lord Lothian, who was 57 last Tuesday, is the only surviving son of the late Major-General Lord Ralph Kerr, third son of the seventh marquess. His mother was a daughter of the 14th Duke of Norfolk.

After being educated at the Oratory School and at New College, Oxford, Mr. Philip Kerr, as he was until he succeeded his cousin in the peerage in 1930, became in 1905 assistant secretary to the Inter-Colonial Council of Transvaal and Orange River Colony and of the Railway Committee of the Central South African Railways. Later he was secretary of the Transvaal Indigency Committee and editor of the *State*, South Africa. Thus he was one of the distinguished group of young Oxford men who, under Lord Milner, built up South Africa after the South African War.

In 1910 he became editor of the *Round Table*, and continued to be until 1916, when he was appointed Secretary to the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George). He played an important part in the Peace Conference at Versailles, and from that time onward has become an increasingly important figure in international politics. From 1931 to 1932 he was Parliamentary Under-Secretary, India Office, and he has taken a close interest in Indian affairs during the succeeding years. In January, 1938, when visiting India, he had conversations with Mr. Gandhi, and expressed the opinion that Federation was the greatest boon that lay within India's grasp.

Lord Lothian has taken an equally close interest in American affairs and has made notable speeches on Anglo-American relations. In 1928, as secretary of the Rhodes Trust, he spoke on the relations of the two countries at Birkbeck College, at a lecture at which the American Ambassador presided. He said on that occasion that Great Britain and America had a common object—to preserve the peace of the world. Lord Lothian is unmarried.

MOBILIZATION OF INDUSTRY

GERMAN PLANS

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MAN-POWER

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

BERLIN, APRIL 24

It is a principle of those German authorities whose duty it is to make all preparations for a possible war that a nation is only fully armed if, to quote an expert on the subject, "the employment of its labour resources is planned in advance as completely and as early as that of its fighting forces." In accordance with this principle every effort is now being made in Germany to ensure that the utmost number of men may be able to join the colours in war without hampering the vital industries.

The military authorities, on whom the duty of preparing industrial as well as military mobilization falls, are faced with a task which is made difficult even in peacetime by the acute shortage of labour. Even now, with the fighting forces more or less at peace strength—although still representing a relatively large part of the national man-power—it has been found necessary to call on the Army to help bring in the harvest, and this year farmers all over Germany will be entitled, if necessary, to call on their local military commander for temporary help. It has been unofficially calculated that almost a third of Germany's trained soldiers would be unable in wartime to leave their key posts in industry, although they might later be released by women, once the latter were sufficiently expert.

STRIKING A BALANCE

So far as is known—and no parade is made of such matters in Germany—the task of striking a balance between the nation's fighting and industrial man-power is entrusted to the economic department of the High Command, which has a small staff in every military district, vested with fairly wide powers but responsible to Berlin. It is the duty of these officers to establish in their area the machinery which would come into action in the event of war, to decide which industries are essential and must therefore be kept fully staffed, and which may, without loss to the nation, be closed down altogether or allowed to operate with a reduced number of workers.

From a study which was recently made here it would appear that such non-essential industries include textiles, paper-making, printing, toys and musical instruments, tobacco and spirits, clothing, building, water, gas and electricity, while other types of concern which would be forced to work with small staffs would be banks, insurance companies, hotels and publichouses, and private households. The workers taken from these employments would either join the fighting forces or be transferred to such vital industries as farming, forestry, and mining, or to producing iron and steel, optical goods and chemicals, rubber, asbestos, leather, electrical apparatus, and so forth.

RESERVE OF WOMEN

Besides the men whom the military authorities must forgo in order that essential industries may be maintained, it has been reckoned that about 6,220,000 women (from the Old Reich) could be brought in to take the place of the men at the front, and that a further 1,750,000 women, already employed in trades which

Lord Lothian M.G. 2574

By the appointment of Lord Lothian to succeed Sir Ronald Lindsay at Washington the Government has changed its policy of appointing only professional diplomatists to the Embassies. But some of the biggest successes among our Ambassadors to the United States, notably Lord Bryce and, although he was there only a short time, Lord Reading, were outside the professional fold.

Lord Lothian knows much of America very well. He has visited the United States many times, made many speeches and has many friends there. He has known President Roosevelt for years and has stayed at the White House. He returned from a visit to the United States early this year, travelling in the same ship as the American Ambassador, Mr. Kennedy. As secretary of the Rhodes Trust he had obvious reasons for his visits, but the real ones probably are that he likes America and Americans. He is an unassuming man, a ready and informed speaker on many subjects, and a good listener, traits that are particularly esteemed in the United States. He is, I think, the only British peer who is a Christian Scientist.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

Well Chosen

THE decision to appoint Lord Lothian as the new Ambassador to Washington is an excellent one.

He is a man of great experience, high principle and liberal outlook, and has shown that he is fully aware of the importance of a close understanding between the United States and Britain.

At one time he was strongly under suspicion of being one of the "Cliveden Set"; but his recent speeches have emphatically proved that he now fully understands the necessity of firmness in the face of Nazi aggression.

THE WASHINGTON EMBASSY

Washington is one of the few capitals—perhaps the only capital left—to which the appointment of a British Ambassador from outside the regular Diplomatic Service will hardly be criticized even by those who belong to it. In these days it is also beyond doubt the most important capital in which this country is represented—partly because the very identity of the ideas which are shared by the British and American peoples calls for peculiar tact and understanding, and partly also because its distance from England renders impossible the constant coming and going for report and consultation which is an easy matter in the case of Paris or Berlin. There is no question of comparatively short and frequent journeys; and it is undeniably true that Anglo-American relations, though never more cordial, are fraught at this moment with unusual significance as the basis of peace and stability for the whole world.

It was the practice at one time, no doubt, to treat the Paris Embassy as the appropriate reward for a retiring Viceroy—LORD LYTON, for example, LORD DUFFERIN, and in more recent times LORD HARDINGE, though in his case the Viceroyalty was an interlude in a distinguished diplomatic career—or as best filled at certain moments by a great English *milord*, such as LORD DERBY or LORD CREWE. Similarly there have been occasions elsewhere—most notably in the case of LORD D'ABERNON'S peace-making mission to Berlin—when it has been thought expedient in abnormal circumstances to interrupt the regular promotion of the Foreign Office hierarchy by the dispatch of a special envoy. There is nothing irregular or unconstitutional about such an appointment. Indeed it is specifically contemplated in that "Regulation for the British Diplomatic Service" which says:—

The Secretary of State reserves to himself the power to recommend to the King the name of any person, even though not in the Diplomatic Service, for the higher and more responsible posts in it.

But the European Embassies as a rule, and as is now becoming commonly recognized, are best left in the hands of men whose whole training and experience have been in diplomacy. Quite apart from the obvious argument that any great Service must become discouraged if its highest posts are continually bestowed upon outsiders, the capitals of Europe are essentially the sphere of professionals.¹⁾

Washington is different. The work of the British Ambassador there bears little resemblance, even in normal times, to that of a diplomatic representative in any other country in the world. The duties of the post may involve, for instance, among other things, a number of academic functions and a good deal of public speaking which most other

CONFIDENTIAL

8.6483.

Air Mail 1.3.39.
Due to arrive 11.3.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES.

Relations with the United Kingdom.

There will shortly reach you by ocean mail* a report of an interview between Lord Halifax and Mr. Kennedy on the latter's return from America. His Excellency said that American opinion was moving steadily in the right direction and was more and more coming to realise that, if there were a show-down in Europe, they could not be disinterested. At the same time, there was always the danger that a great mass of American opinion might be stampeded.

2. Turning to the question of the Jews, the Ambassador said that he had observed a considerable development of anti-Jewish feeling in the United States. This was in part due to the constant suggestion that the Jews were trying to get America into war, and such effect as this might have was, of course, immediately reinforced by all the isolationist feeling. He did not wish to exaggerate it, but it was a very real and, he thought, growing factor in American opinion. One of its consequences had been to give in American opinion greater value than perhaps it deserved to Herr Hitler's recent speech. People were disposed to feel sympathy when he spoke about economic difficulties and their effects.

3. This led the Ambassador to ask whether it was or was not to be thought that any action on economic lines might have the effect of diverting Germany from ideas of war. He was sure that, if this was so, the President would try to do whatever could be done to give economic help and open up economic opportunity.

4. The conversation was of necessity short and it was arranged that it should be continued in a few days' time.

* Due to arrive 3rd April.

US 9-1111
COPY/VH

6 Richmond Terrace,
Whitehall,
LONDON, S.W.1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

E.6366.

Air Mail - 3.2.39.
Due to Arrive - 13.2.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES.

The British Ambassador at Washington reported
as follows on 1st February:

In an attempt to smother petty criticism of his foreign policy which has developed out of such questions as the sale of aeroplanes to France and the proposed fortification of Guam, the President yesterday summoned members of the Senate military committee to the White House and in a secret conference is reported by the press to have disclosed to the senators an alarming picture of the world situation and the need for the United States to go to all possible lengths short of war to back up the European democracies.

The President is said to have asked members to regard France as the actual frontier of America and to have stressed the need of unlimited sale of aeroplanes and other war material on cash and carry basis to Great Britain and France.

The New York Times said that senators were impressed and some surprised at the closeness with which the United States Government seemed to be working with Great Britain and France.

(SGD.) ALFRED STIRLING.



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

30 JAN 1939

S.6361.

Air Mail 3.2.39.
Due to arrive 13.2.39.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

U.S.S.R.

Relations with the United Kingdom.

The new British Ambassador, Sir W. Seeds, presented his credentials to M. Kalinin on 28th January, and had "what I am told is in the circumstances an unusually long conversation with him and M. Litvinov. The interview was extremely friendly and I spoke as I had done in a previous conversation with M. Litvinov of the readiness of the United Kingdom Government to exchange views on all current international problems. But M. Kalinin only repeated M. Litvinov's optimistic point of view on general lines that the Soviet Union has nothing to fear from political turmoil into which Western Europe is apparently plunged. I was unable to ascertain whether the approaching trade conversations with Germany are considered as an indication that there is nothing to fear from that quarter. As regards the Far East, M. Kalinin was equally optimistic saying, had it not been for the Soviet Government's policy of appeasement, they would have driven the Japanese into the sea after the Changkufeng incident last August".

Alfred Stirling

ORIGINAL

TURKEY MINTAL

KENT



6, RICHMOND TERRACE,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON, S. W. I.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Air mail - 16.11.38.
Due to arrive - 26.11.38.

R.845

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

I enclose the text of a letter ^{to} ~~from~~ the "Times" of 10th November from Sir John Pratt which summarises the arguments he has previously used in refutation of the charges made by Mr. Stimson of a British failure to co-operate with the United States at the time of the Manchuria dispute in 1932. Enclosed also is the text of a letter from Mr. E. M. Gull replying to Sir John Pratt.

Refused Stirling

*Tele. Stimson
stimsoned by Lord.
UK-USA-relations
ND*

THE SEIZURE OF MANCHURIA

DID BRITAIN FAIL TO BACK AMERICA?

AN OLD MYTH REFUTED

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—In the message that appeared in your issue of November 5 from your Washington Correspondent he referred to the fact that

American commentators never fail to recall that in 1931 the British Government did not "go along" with the then Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Stimson, in his desire to invoke the Nine-Power Treaty when Japan seized Manchuria.

It has occurred to me that this may be a favourable opportunity to make one more attempt to kill this myth, which has been industriously circulated on both sides of the Atlantic and which has already done infinite harm to Anglo-American relations.

There was no refusal to "go along" with Mr. Stimson. In his book, "The Far Eastern Crisis," Mr. Stimson states that in February, 1932, he put forward to the British Foreign Office a proposal for a joint invocation of the Nine-Power Treaty and he adds:—

While no explicit refusal to my suggestion was ever made I finally became convinced . . . that the British Government were reluctant to join in such a *démarche*.

In making this statement Mr. Stimson's memory has deceived him. The facts are that on receiving the draft of Mr. Stimson's proposed joint invocation the Foreign Office telephoned to Geneva a paragraph containing the non-recognition doctrine and this paragraph was embodied in the declaration issued by the twelve members of the Council on February 16, 1932. At the same time a written answer was handed to the American Embassy for transmission to Mr. Stimson stating that the British Government was most anxious to cooperate with America in this matter and that, in view of their adherence to this declaration, it was hoped that those of the League Powers who were signatories to the Nine-Power Treaty might also associate themselves with the proposed joint invocation. The Foreign Office, so far from refusing to "go along" with Mr. Stimson did all they possibly could to further his proposal. To obtain the concurrence of several Governments in a particular draft is, however, always a cumbersome and sometimes a lengthy process. It is not in general the kind of procedure that commends itself to the State Department, and Mr. Stimson preferred to drop the idea of a joint invocation and turn his draft into the letter from himself to Mr. Borah of February 24, 1932.

Even more unfortunate than Mr. Stimson's lapse of memory is his reference in this connexion to sanctions. At page 161 of his book he says:—

If a situation should ultimately arise when the American Government felt it necessary to recommend the imposition, in cooperation with the rest of the world, of an embargo on Japanese goods, I believed that such a measure would have more chance of being adopted by Congress if it were recommended following the invocation of the Nine-Power Treaty than if it had been recommended solely by the League of Nations.

It is this passage, carelessly read by the casual reader, that has given rise to the absurd belief that the United States actually proposed sanctions or strong measures to check Japanese aggression and that the British Government refused. Actually, of course, as Mr. Stimson himself makes clear, the U.S. Government were firmly opposed to sanctions. From first to last they never wavered from their attitude that the proper way of handling the dispute was to mobilize world opinion. In this attitude they were loyally supported by the British Government, who conceived that their proper role was to harmonize and coordinate the actions of the United States and the League. Sir John Simon accordingly exerted his great talents to secure the adoption by the League of Mr. Stimson's doctrine of non-recognition. It was he who at the League Assembly in March, 1932, drafted and proposed the Assembly Resolution adopting the doctrine. Mr. Stimson hastened to express his pleasure at this action and on August 8 in a public speech he pointed out that the refusal of America alone to recognize the fruits of aggression might be of comparatively little moment to an aggressor.

But when the entire group of civilized nations took their stand beside the position of the American Government, the situation was revealed in its true sense. Moral disapproval, when it becomes the disapproval of the whole world, takes on a significance hitherto unknown in international law. For never before has international opinion been so organized and mobilized.

Mr. Stimson in fact believed that in the non-recognition doctrine he had discovered a substitute for sanctions, a moral force that would effectually check Japanese aggression. Unfortunately, non-recognition proved in practice a complete fiasco. Mr. Stimson's bitter disappointment is reflected in many passages in his book.

THE SEIZURE OF MANCHURIA

BRITISH COMMUNIQUE OF 1932

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—While all interested in Far Eastern affairs will be grateful to Sir John Pratt for the history of those with which he deals in your issue of November 10, I, and I expect others, feel some regret that he ignored an important, indeed in Mr. Stimson's view a governing, fact, I mean the *communiqué* issued by the British Government and published in the Press on January 11, 1932.

Except in respect of the "open door," the *communiqué* showed no interest whatsoever in the Nine Power Treaty. To the significance of that fact Mr. Stimson devotes several pages in his book, "The Far Eastern Crisis," declaring (on p. 101) that the contents of the *communiqué* were such "as to be taken by most readers, including—what was most important—the Japanese Government, as a rebuff to the United States." As to what the Foreign Office did or did not do a few weeks later nobody is in a better position to speak than Sir John. When, however, he attributes Mr. Stimson's conviction "that the British Government were reluctant to join" in a *démarche* to failure of memory, whereas Mr. Stimson attributes it to personal conversations with Sir John Simon, one cannot but conclude that the activities of the Foreign Office which Sir John Pratt describes failed to remove the impression originally created by the *communiqué* in question. That was worded as follows:—

His Majesty's Government stand by the policy of the open door for international trade in Manchuria, which was guaranteed by the Nine Power Treaty at Washington.

Since the recent events in Manchuria, the Japanese representatives at the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva stated on October 13 that Japan was the champion in Manchuria of the principle of equal opportunity and the open door for the economic activities of all nations. Further, on December 28 the Japanese Prime Minister stated that Japan would adhere to the open door policy, and would welcome participation and cooperation in Manchurian enterprise.

In view of these statements, his Majesty's Government have not considered it necessary to address any formal Note to the Japanese Government on the lines of the American Government's Note, but the Japanese Ambassador in London has been requested to obtain confirmation of these assurances from his Government.

The American Note, on the other hand, had said that

the American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Government of the Chinese Republic and the Imperial Japanese Government that it cannot admit the legality of any situation *de facto* nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those Governments or agents thereof which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the open door policy; and that it does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928, to which treaty both China and Japan, as well as the United States, are parties.

It is only necessary to compare these documents to see that in January, 1932, the British Government did not "go along" with the Government of the United States. Readiness to do so in February had a good deal of leeway to make up.

I am, &c.,

E. M. GULL.

United University Club.



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,

Canberra, 28th October, 1938.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Public Service Board,

REPORT OF THE U.S.COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL
RELATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Referred for information. A copy has
been forwarded to Department of the Treasury and the
Attorney General's Department.

W. A. Hughes
for Secretary.

Per S.S. "Aorangi"
via Victoria, B.C.
closing New York
Sep 23.1938.



GOVERNMENT OF THE
COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

CABLE ADDRESS
"AUSTRALCOM, NEW YORK"
TELEPHONES
DUGBY 4-9332
9333

OFFICE OF THE
AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT TRADE COMMISSIONER
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
EA/38/5

25 BROADWAY
NEW YORK
21st September, 1938.

MEMORANDUM for

Secretary,
Department of External Affairs

REPORT OF THE U.S. COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL
RELATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

I have to advise that in June last President Roosevelt selected a study group of nine members representing business, industry, labor, the general public and the law, to investigate industrial labor conditions in Great Britain, as well as employer-employee relationships in Sweden. It was stated at the time that the President did not contemplate duplicating in this country the well-defined method of adjusting industrial disputes practiced in either Great Britain or Sweden. It was felt, however, the dissemination of information regarding the practices in those countries would be advantageous.

The personnel of the Commission designated by the President was as follows:-

Lloyd K. Garrison, dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School and former head of the Labor Relations Board.

Robert Watt, representing the American Federation of Labor.

Gerald Swope, president of the General Electric Company.

Henry I. Harriman, former president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

William H. Davis, New York attorney and former NRA deputy administrator.

Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg, regional director of Social Security for New York.

Charles R. Hook, president of the American Rolling Mills Company.

Marion Dickerman, principal of the Todhunter School for Girls, New York City.

William Ellison Chalmers, assistant United States Labor Commissioner at Geneva, who acted as general secretary and liaison officer.

The Commissioner's report to the President was released on the 6th instant, and four copies of the report are enclosed herewith.

(L.R. Macgregor)

COPY.

6, Richmond Terrace,
Whitehall,
London, S.W.1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CONFIDENTIAL.

S. 5947.

Air Mail
Due to Arrive

14.10.38
24.10.38

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES.

You will find among the Print forwarded by the Dominions Office by this week's ocean mail a record (1) of a conversation between Lord Halifax and the United States Ambassador on 6th October. The Ambassador delivered a personal message to the Prime Minister on the subject of refugees (see Dominions Office telegram No. 379 of 11th October). Lord Halifax told the Ambassador that in his private conversation with Herr Hitler the Prime Minister had raised the question of disarmament, with special reference to the possibility of doing something in the way of dealing with air bombing. Herr Hitler had expressed his sympathy with the idea, but had said that it would only be dealt with by universal action on the part of all concerned. The United Kingdom Government accordingly had it in mind to make an approach to the Soviet Government on the matter. The Ambassador agreed in thinking that this was the real question of importance which we should try to tackle.

2. In the course of some further general conversation the Ambassador said that he thought the economic side of world problems was going to attain increasing importance, and anticipated that some trade arrangement between America and Germany might shortly come on to the tapis. He felt, himself, that through this, however it could be developed, it might be possible for the United States to exercise some influence with both Germany and Italy in favour of more sensible and more steady international relations.

3. In this account mention should be made of a press statement by Dr. Funk, the German Minister for Economics, at Istanbul on 11th October. The Minister said that he had reason to believe that British and American economists were beginning to realise that the German system was the only practicable one in present circumstances. He had, he added, himself negotiated the present Anglo-German Agreement which was proving so beneficial to the trade exchanges between the two countries, and he intended shortly to begin negotiations with America for an agreement on similar lines.

(SGD.) ALFRED STIRLING.

(1) WESTERN (Spain). W. 13347/86/41. 6th October, 1938; Section 2.
See D.486.



2, WHITEHALL GARDENS,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.647.

Air Mail 18.6.38.
Due to arrive. 30.6.38.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

MR. EDEN.

I enclose a copy of a question and answer
in the House of Commons on 16th June.

Alfred Stirling

THE TIMES. 17th JUNE, 1938.

**PRIME MINISTER AND
MR. EDEN**

Mr. MANDER asked the Prime Minister if he would give particulars of the fundamental disagreement with reference to a policy con-
cerning the United States which occurred between himself and the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.—I can add nothing to the statements which I made in this House on February 21 and 22 last.

Mr. MANDER asked whether it was the case that statements from authoritative British sources had recently appeared in the Canadian and American Press to the effect stated in the question, and whether the Prime Minister would state to the House exactly what the difference with regard to the policy was between himself and the late Foreign Secretary.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.—I am not aware of what authoritative sources such information could come from.

Mr. MANDER gave notice that he would raise the question on the adjournment at the earliest opportunity.

USA-WK



2, WHITEHALL GARDENS,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.430.

Air Mail - 23.3.38.
Due to Arrive - 6.4.38.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES.

I enclose a report which appeared in The Times
of the new American Ambassador's first speech in this
country at the Pilgrims' dinner in London on the 18th
March.

Alfred Stirling

*Anglo-American
Speeches*

Dolphin

FND

AMERICA'S HOPE FOR PEACE

NEW AMBASSADOR'S MESSAGE

"STRAIGHT TALK BETWEEN FRIENDS"

Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, the new American Ambassador, making his first speech in this country at a dinner of the Pilgrims in London last night, at which the Duke of Kent was present, urged that Britain and the United States should be frank and straightforward with each other. America, he said, was willing to do more than merely talk about peace. It would be glad to join and encourage any nation or group of nations in a peace programme based on economic recovery, limitation of armaments, and a revival of the sanctity of international commitments. He described as a dangerous sort of misunderstanding the view that the United States would not fight in any circumstances short of actual invasion.

LORD HALIFAX

LORD HALIFAX, proposing the toast "Our Guest," said Mr. Kennedy came to this country with a great reputation for efficiency and drive in the financial and business spheres of the United States. He would no doubt introduce into our diplomatic life a stimulating influence drawn from his practical experience of the world.

We were as fortunate to-day as in the past in that, by choosing a successor to Mr. Bingham, President Roosevelt should have selected someone so representative of modern America as Mr. Kennedy. It was sometimes said that the duties of an Ambassador had decreased in importance in these days of rapid communication, that he merely carried out instructions received by telegram or telephone. That was an entirely erroneous conception of an Ambassador's main function. He resided in the capital of the Government to which he was accredited to act as a two-way interpreter both of his own country to the country where he resided and of that country to his own. A good Ambassador must have a clear understanding of both.

Much though the American and British people had in common, yet geography, history, and the outlook of our peoples made it inevitable that we should view the world and what was happening in it in different perspective. The responsibilities, at once so great and yet so different, resting upon their shoulders of necessity imposed upon them a different approach to the problems with which the human race was to-day confronted. In these problems each country had a distinctive part to play. Mr. Kennedy would doubtless make it part of his duty to unravel the tangled web of jealousies, rivalries, fears, ambitions, that produced confusion and distrust in Europe, and to make them—if that be possible—intelligible to his Government.

LAW AND JUSTICE

He hoped that Mr. Kennedy might be able to arrive at the judgment that, in spite of all difficulties and dangers, this country had tried to steer a straight course in the light of principles which were equally valued by the United States Government and to which Mr. Hull gave such powerful expression on Thursday. Mr. Hull's eloquent definition of the methods by which the cause of law and justice could be supported and peace brought to a distracted world would find ready acceptance in the hearts of all English-speaking peoples. Nor could they fail to exercise a calming effect at a time of profound international anxiety.

It is my own conviction that, notwithstanding the differences in outlook to which I have referred, we can give great help to one another and to the causes we both venerate and seek to serve by endeavouring to understand the principles and motives by which the respective policies of our two countries are inspired. For good or evil my country is set very close to a portion of the world whose atmosphere in these days is highly charged with combustible material. Whether we wish

mental reservation that war between them may one day be the deciding factor. We are not compelled to weigh our words and actions in order to consider how they would affect our respective positions in the event of a conflict between us.

AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

"Let us, therefore, avoid loose thinking and shun the use of subterfuge. We are friends, and as friends we should always be able to speak plainly, knowing that there can arise between us no misunderstanding that plain speaking will not clear away." The average American, went on Mr. Kennedy, had little interest in the details of foreign affairs. One reason for that was found in the racial and geographical peculiarities of their country. "The ordinary American, the man in the street, whose collective thinking we describe as public opinion (he said), has his mind primarily on domestic matters these days. The business decline has again focused attention on the unemployment problem. The average man wants to know whether he will be able to keep his job and his savings. The possibility of losing his job and savings is of immediate and visible interest to him, whereas international developments, regardless of their importance, appear to be vague and far away."

Over here men's minds inevitably inclined toward their neighbours' affairs. In America that was not true, and their collective interest in other nations was correspondingly less. The recent development of policy in the United States, which had aroused widespread public interest, was President Roosevelt's decision to build up the country's naval strength. People understood battleships; they had to pay for them; their children served in them, and to most people a battleship was synonymous with war.

The average American to-day had two principal worries. He feared that he might lose his job and he feared that his country might get into a war. Most Americans were now waiting to see how events developed outside their own borders. They did not see how they could usefully participate in some of the adjustments of international relations now taking place in various parts of the world. Nations, like men, did not consider undertaking business transactions unless they were convinced a common interest existed.

NATIONAL INTEREST

"We are careful and wary—and I think rightly so—in the relationships we establish with foreign countries. It would be better for all of us if this traditional American attitude were more clearly understood," continued Mr. Kennedy. "Nothing constructive can be built on false hopes and false fears. We believe it is wise to make clear that any stand the American people takes will be based primarily on the firm ground of national interest, which is the soundest basis for relations between nations."

With that sort of public opinion behind them, President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull and other officials of the Government had lately been trying to make the country's position clear to the rest of the world. They very much hoped that no misapprehension would arise as to the role they were expected to play, as contrasted with the part in which they had cast themselves.

It must be realized that the great majority of Americans oppose any entangling alliances. Most of our people insist that their country retain its independent and unmortgaged judgment as to the merits of world crises as they arise. This viewpoint has dominated the whole foreign policy of the United States, and it endures to this day. My country is unwilling to bind itself to any course of action in the future without an opportunity to examine the situation in the light which then envelopes it. It seems to me, to judge from conflicting and contradictory reports which reach us from abroad, that this attitude of the United States is not well understood.

In some quarters it has been interpreted to mean that our country would not fight under any circumstances short of actual invasion. That is not accurate, in my opinion, and it is a dangerous sort of misunderstanding to be current just now. Others seem to imagine that the United States could never remain neutral in the event a general war should unhappily break out. That, I believe, is just as dangerously conceived a misapprehension as the other."

WAR NOT INEVITABLE

Where the present interests of Great Britain and the United States met was in the prevention of that generally feared world war. "In our country we refuse as yet to believe that war is inevitable. We prefer to believe that the common sense of the peoples of the world will prevent it. Therefore we do not approach world affairs in a spirit of fatalism. Nevertheless, if the nations should again become engulfed in the cataclysm of a general war, we should make ourselves very strong, and then pursue whatever course we considered

it or not, it is impossible for us to dissociate ourselves from the anxieties of our environment which we have seen in the last few days may at a moment's notice be excited by events in any part of it. We accept the responsibilities of our surroundings and we recognize that in them we have our contribution to make."

NEGOTIATIONS WITH U.S.

Referring to the negotiations for an Anglo-American trade agreement, Lord Halifax said, if in cooperation we could break down, or at least lower, the artificial barriers which had arisen in various forms to check the natural channels of commerce, and if we could thus procure a freer flow of international trade, we would be making an important contribution to world appeasement. Expansion of trade and economic peace based on the principle of equality of trade opportunity, constituted objectives of the greatest importance in the promotion of world prosperity. Trade agreements not only conferred benefits on the individual countries concerned, but must render valuable assistance in the furtherance of world economic rehabilitation. Without a sustained effort to eliminate the restrictions which impeded international commerce, the process of trade recovery must be seriously retarded.

With this aim in mind we had embarked on negotiations at Washington with the United States Government. With good will and give-and-take on both sides all obstacles should be happily overcome and success be attained. It was hoped that the conclusion of the trade agreement would be followed by similar agreements between the United States and certain of the Dominions.

It was a source of lively satisfaction to the people of this country in the troubled times through which we were passing to know that on the other side of the Atlantic there remained a great and free nation with whom we shared many of the best things in life. We shared that spirit of toleration which was won on both sides of the Atlantic after many a hard struggle. We shared that firm belief in the ultimate responsibility of man to his own conscience. We shared that respect for justice both in the relations with members of the same community and in the wider field of international relations. We shared, too, a common agreement as to the foundations on which those wider relations between nations must be built.

There was a deep and wide measure of agreement on some of the things which mattered most in our social and political life. That agreement was real because it was spontaneous. It sprang from the individuals themselves of which our nations were composed. Individual initiative by which British and Americans alike set such store was the vitalizing influence on the relations between our two countries. It was the safeguard that those relations would be maintained, for the surest way to avoid misunderstanding was the knowledge that in both countries there was no limit set to the free expression of independent and individual views.

MR. KENNEDY'S SPEECH

Mr. KENNEDY, in reply, said that in taking up his duties here he was moved by one primary consideration—that we, of all peoples in the world, must be frank and straightforward with each other. The present state of world affairs, it seemed to him, called for something more than the usual diplomatic niceties.

"I conceive it to be my duty," said Mr. KENNEDY, "to tell you individually and collectively what is in the minds and hearts of my countrymen. I hope to be able to tell the people of the United States, with equal freedom and honesty, what the people of Great Britain want and intend. The present state of world affairs, it seems to me, calls for something more than the usual diplomatic niceties. I could talk to you for hours about the common heritage and the glorious traditions of the English-speaking peoples, but I believe we have come to take those things for granted. Our two countries enjoy a relationship which is unique among the nations of the world. We should profit by that relationship. Few other nations can discuss their affairs without a

best for the United States. It will undoubtedly be our policy in the future."

The American people were appalled by the prospect of war as it was now waged. As all saw now, there certainly was no winner in the World War. If another general conflict should unhappily break out, the resulting destruction of manpower and painfully accumulated capital wealth would bankrupt the world to a point where a new civilization and a new form of society would have to be slowly and haltingly evolved—something of which we had no conception to-day. Economic peace seemed to offer ultimate hope of achieving a rational and enduring solution. Great Britain and the United States were even now trying to take a step together in that direction. America regarded the establishment of more friendly commercial relations as imperative.

"You cannot run down a customer with a bayonet," added Mr. Kennedy. "You cannot force people to buy things. If people trade with you they probably like you and have no thought of killing you. If the nations of the world would trade liberally and naturally among themselves a new kind of security would be born—a security based on intelligent self-interest and not on force."

The foreign relations of the United States were based on the Good Neighbour policy. That policy merely applied to international relationships the ordinary decent principles which men employed in their dealings with each other as individuals.

"Good neighbourship is not a one-way street," Mr. Kennedy said. "The decline in international morality has alarmed our people in recent years. One's faith in such collective ventures as the Pact of Paris and the Nine-Power Treaty is bound to be shaken when some of the most influential signatories refuse to be bound by the terms of the agreements. My country has decided that it must stand on its own feet, at least until regard for treaty obligations has again become fashionable."

The United States has no intention of attacking anyone. It does not expect to be attacked. It is now, and intends to remain, on friendly terms with every country in the world. If the force of events should make it impossible for us to follow this policy, my country will decide, when the time comes, what to do to preserve the welfare of its own citizens. We expect that other countries will do likewise. But surely it is not too much to hope that the collective intelligence of our two countries, together with that of the other nations, will seek and find a sure, permanent road to universal prosperity and peace."

The DUKE OF KENT proposed the health of the chairman. After paying a warm tribute to Lord Derby he went on to say that Mr. Kennedy was not unaware of the problems with which he and Lord Halifax would have to deal. His task was to straighten them out. He would need support from people who wished to make the world a better place to live in during the twentieth century than it had been before.

LORD DERBY briefly replied.

Messages were received from the Duke of Connaught, president of the Pilgrims of Great Britain, and from Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, on behalf of the Pilgrims of the United States.

Among those present were:—

The French, Brazilian, Argentine, and Polish Ambassadors, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., Sir Thomas Inskip, M.P., Mr. Walter Elliot, M.P., Lord Greenwood, Mr. J. Arthur Barratt, K.C., Mr. Vincent Massey, Mr. S. M. Bruce, Lord Herbert, Mr. J. W. Dulanty, Mr. Herschel V. Johnson, Sir Alexander Cadogan, the Rev. Archibald Fleming, Mr. T. C. de Water, Mr. W. J. Jordan, Lord Atkin, Sir Henry Badesley, Vice-Admiral Sir Sidney Bailey, Vice-Admiral Sir Geoffrey Blake, Sir Harold Boulton, Mr. Brenden Bracken, M.P., Sir Harry Brittain, Lord Brocket, Sir Charles Bruce-Gardner, Sir Bruce Bruce-Porter, Lord Carrick, Sir John Caulcutt, Sir Henry Chilton, Lord Dawson of Penn, Lord Desborough, Lord Dunmore, Sir Herbert Ellison, Sir Crisp English, Lord Essendon, Lord Exmouth, Lord Forteviot, Sir William Goode, Sir William Gowers, Mr. Francis E. Powell, Lord Queensborough, Sir George Reeves-Smith, Sir Cecil Hunter Rodwell, Sir Ernest Roney, Sir John Sanderson, Lord Selsdon, Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke, Lord Knollys, Sir Stanley Machin, Sir Frank Mellor, Sir Eric Milville, Sir John Monck, Sir Frank Newnes, Sir George Hastings, Sir Francis Herby, Sir Malcolm Hogg, Mr. J. Stanley Holmes, M.P., Lord Howe, Sir Harold Howitt, the Hungarian Minister, Sir Cyril Hurcomb, Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Inglefield, General Sir Reginald Wingate, and Sir Edward Worthington.

USA - WK



2, WHITEHALL GARDENS,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.356.

Air Mail - 2.3.38.
Due to Arrive - 16.3.38.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

UNITED STATES.

I enclose a copy of the special article from
The Times of 28th February dealing with the appointment
of Mr. J. P. Kennedy as United States Ambassador to
Great Britain.

Alfred Stirling

NEW ENVOY FROM WASHINGTON

MR. J. P. KENNEDY

WORK FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Mr. J. P. Kennedy, the new American Ambassador to Great Britain, is due to arrive at Plymouth in the Manhattan to-morrow.

From a Correspondent

The arrival of Mr. Joseph Patrick Kennedy as the new United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James's will usher in a new era in the history of the American Embassy in London. Like most of his predecessors, Mr. Kennedy comes to his post with no experience of diplomacy in foreign lands, but that need be counted no bar to his success. Among the American Ambassadors who have done most to promote good will and a closer understanding between the two countries, several have been men who came straight from private life to the duties of the Embassy.

The list of former Ambassadors contains the names of men prominent in literature, journalism, and the legal profession, such as James Russell Lowell, Joseph Choate, Whitelaw Reid, Walter Page, George Harvey, Frank B. Kellogg, and the latest occupant of the position, R. W. Bingham. Mr. Kennedy's qualities, however, differ from those which have led to their possessors' selection in the past. He is a successful business man, who, starting from humble beginnings, had by his energy, foresight, and courage built for himself a solid status and a considerable fortune while still in his middle twenties.

Mr. Kennedy is much younger than the usual run of Ambassadors, for he has not yet reached the age of 50. He has a large family, three sons and six daughters, ranging from 22 downwards. He is Irish and a Roman Catholic, and proud of it. The appointment would have created a stir some years ago, when the Irish question was an obstacle to better Anglo-American relations. Now it will provoke little more than wonder that it has not occurred before.

A MAN OF BOSTON

He is a native of Boston; but anything less like the old-fashioned conception of that city of the Puritans could hardly be imagined than the Boston from which he is sprung. As an Irishman he represents the new Boston which has grown up within the last 50 years and has come increasingly to conform to the type of northern American cities having a large proportion of Irish in its citizenship. As Roman Catholics and as racial exiles these people have formed strong political coteries, often crowding together in the more humble parts of the city, and keeping mostly to themselves in religion, education, and politics. In New York they became a strong political influence under the name of Tammany Hall, an association that (quite apart from the corruption for which it was notorious) has always maintained a high ideal of close association among people of Irish birth and a system of mutual help hardly rivalled by any beneficent institution. Each city in the northern States has its organization in many ways similar to Tammany Hall, and in Boston it has, without adopting such a name, played a vigorous and influential part in local affairs both municipal and State.

born. He came of humble parents and like many another American boy was not ashamed to work hard early and late to earn money to take him to school and college. Yet he was closely connected with many who played a leading part in the municipal life of the city. When he came to choose a wife he married the daughter of one of Boston's best-known Irish mayors, a Fitzgerald who had won many an election by his gifts of song.

SUCCESS IN MANY FIELDS

After school young Kennedy, unlike most Roman Catholics, went to Harvard, near which university he had lived all his life. His chief fame there was as a player of baseball, though it is not as a rule a game at which university men excel. He had no sooner left college than his political associations won him a place as a bank examiner. He came to close quarters with finance, in which he was later to prove an expert of the highest order. Within two years, at the age of 26, he was appointed president of a trust company in Boston. Then in 1917, when America entered the World War, he was named general manager of the Fore River shipbuilding plant of Mr. Charles M. Schwab's Bethlehem Steel Corporation in Massachusetts. On the stocks of the yard at that time was a war vessel destined for Argentina. The United States Government wanted the ship, and negotiations for securing it were in the hands of the then Under-Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Franklin Roosevelt, now President of the United States. The two cemented a friendship and enhanced a mutual regard that has grown with the years.

After the War Mr. Kennedy ventured into stockbroking and became head of the Boston branch of one of the largest firms in the country. In 1924 he turned to yet another field of activity and entered the film world. For eight years he made his headquarters in New York and was concerned more with the distribution than the manufacture of films, though the two are, of course, closely related. First he was chairman of the Film Booking Offices of America, later chairman of the Keith-Albee-Orpheum Theatre Corporation, once a music-hall circuit, which now owns or controls far the largest association of cinemas in the United States, with one or several houses in every town of importance. He was one of the few to come practically unscathed through the difficult years which began the present decade. In the political campaign of 1932 he was one of the few in big business to place entire confidence in Mr. Roosevelt and threw himself wholeheartedly into the campaign on behalf of his old associate. He gave up all his business interests to devote himself to the electoral campaign.

President Roosevelt appointed him chairman of the Securities Exchange Commission, a new body set up by the Government to try to regulate and if possible reform the working of the New York Stock Exchange and similar financial institutions. No one was more familiar with the work, ways, and personalities of the Stock Exchange. No one could have been better qualified for the chairmanship of the Commission, for Mr. Kennedy was trusted by those among whom he had formerly worked. He set about his task with his customary energy. The organization of the Commission was wholly due to him. While many people on the stock market did not like it, they never lost their personal affection for the chairman.

In 1935 he resigned to become chairman of the Maritime Commission established by the Government to investigate the whole shipping industry of the United States and report on the



U.S.A - U.K.
2, WHITEHALL GARDENS,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CONFIDENTIAL

S.4875.

Air Mail 8.1.38.
Due to arrive 22.1.38.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

U.S.A.

Appointment of new Ambassador to London.

Last letter R.193.

The United States Chargé d'Affaires in London enquired officially on 1st January whether the appointment of Mr. Kennedy as new United States Ambassador to London would be acceptable. He has been informed that this appointment will be entirely agreeable to the King.

Alfred Stirling.

USA - UK

18 JAN 1938



2, WHITEHALL GARDENS,
LONDON, S. W. I.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

R.193.

Air Mail - 31.12.37.
Due to Arrive - 14. 1.38.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

I enclose an article from the Daily Express of
30th December on the new United States Ambassador to London,
who, it is expected will be officially appointed by Congress
next week.

Alfred Stirling

JP

F *NA*

The new Ambassador from our friends across the Atlantic has—

THERE is something to be done at the Court of St. James's that will make the world a better place for nine American children, otherwise Boston's Joseph Patrick Kennedy wouldn't have accepted President Roosevelt's invitation to become America's Ambassador in London.

It may be that Kennedy thinks he can make the world a safer place for his nine children by promoting Anglo-American co-operation from his office in Grosvenor-square.

It may be that Kennedy can assure his nine children more lasting prosperity by settling the War Debt problem and by pushing negotiations for the Anglo-American Trade Pact.

It may be only that Kennedy thinks that by holding America's most important diplomatic post at a time when it is more important than ever, he may leave a prouder name to his nine children.

But when Kennedy made that decision to leave the country he loved, you may be sure his nine children figured in it. He has never made a move without thinking of them.

He piled up an immense fortune from Stock Exchange speculation to give them security. He organised a review of the American and Exchange Commission to curb Stock



*Joseph Patrick
KENNEDY
will be officially
appointed U.S.
Ambassador to
Great Britain by
Congress next
week. Here is
a pen picture by
C. V. R. Thompson,
Daily Express New*

was immediately attracted by the Secretary's way of getting things done with as little red tape as possible. The secretary's name was Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

AFTER the war Kennedy felt the lure of Wall Street. He studied its intricacies in the offices of one of the staidest investment houses in America. Then he was ready for "the Street."

After early successes the movies attracted him. He headed a syndicate that paid two hundred thousand pounds to the British owners of Film Booking Offices. He made big corporations out of little ones. He went to Hollywood, declared that Hollywood needed more culture and proceeded to make culture pay.

After coming to the attention of the British Government, he became chairman of the



because he thought it would make their future and therefore the future of the whole nation more secure.

He left a comfortable lazy home life to work sixteen hours a day in stuffy Washington, because he thought Roosevelt was the man to bring the native land of his children out of its troubles.

He spends most of his spare time talking to Brain Truster, Felix Frankfurter about raising children. When Frankfurter told him one of his boys was becoming warped by living the life of a rich man's son, Kennedy sent him abroad—to Moscow.

JOSEPH PATRICK KENNEDY

Is the ideal family man, but he is no ordinary paterfamilias. He is forty-nine, but as athletic as a youngster. He swims like a champion, plays baseball as well as he did in his Harvard days, and that was good enough to get him professional offers. He rides like a master of hounds.

No prude, his language often shocks secretaries. His favourite word is bellyaching, usually used about those who attack President Roosevelt.

He's rich—he paid £100,000 in income tax last year—would like to be richer.

Money brings power and Joseph Patrick Kennedy likes power more than anything but his children. That is the only reason he will be sorry to leave Washington. With his friend Roosevelt in the White House he had all the power he wanted.

KENNEDY was called to the White House oftener than any other President on neutrality problems, on the protection of merchant vessels, on the Far Eastern crisis, on the slipping stock market, on the Supreme Court fracas.

Whenever there is a problem Roosevelt sends a note to "Dear

York Staff Reporter,
of this millionaire
father of

9 children & 9 million dollars

friend Joe," yet dear friend Joe was one of the men Roosevelt has made his chief enemies—economic royalists.

Even when he was working against big business in Washington Kennedy lived in the style of economic royalty. His enormous ornate mansion was luxuriously furnished, its bathrooms had gold plumbing fixtures, his private cinema seated 200 people, his swimming pool would have made ancient Romans jealous.

But Joseph Patrick Kennedy's life has been a series of paradoxes, a series of plots for sixpenny romances. With every ten years he has reached a climax that would be the great moment of a lifetime for any ordinary man.

HIS father, Patrick Joseph Kennedy, was a saloon-keeper in Boston when his son was born.

other companies. Came the depression, and Kennedy got out of the amusement business and returned to Wall-street. In 1929 he rode the market down and grew rich from it.

In 1933 he participated in a stock pool which netted a profit of nearly £80,000. He could always forecast what the market was going to do a week beforehand, he was never caught napping.

IN 1931 he met Roosevelt again, decided that Roosevelt was the man to save his country. He contributed £10,000 to Roosevelt's presidential campaign in 1932, and is still owed more than £6,000.

When Roosevelt became President, Kennedy was the man he selected to run the Securities and Exchange Commission to stop Wall-street gambling.

There were squawks. Here was the shrewdest speculator on Wall-street appointed to clean up Wall-street.

But 431 days later Kennedy turned over his post to his successors amid acclaim from all sides. It was just the same when Roosevelt appointed him Maritime Commissioner this year. There were squawks that he had axes to grind, that he was a shareholder in shipping companies. In seventy-three days Kennedy had put into motion machinery that was to set up a new era in the dying American merchant marine.

NOW Joseph Patrick Kennedy is ready for the next job.

He has a home in New York, a winter place at Palm Beach, a summer place at Cape Cod.

By occupation he is a capitalist, by inclination he is a Liberal, by nature he is a sentimentalist.

His love for co-operation will endear London to him. His buoyant charm will endear him to London. Joseph Patrick Kennedy's life is about to reach another climax.

C. V. R. Thompson

bought a sightseeing bus for his friend. His friend drove, Joseph was the guide. In three seasons Joseph Patrick Kennedy showed a profit of \$1,000.

That was his first venture in big business. On the strength of it he proposed to pretty Rose, daughter of John Fitzgerald, who became Mayor of Boston chiefly because of his tearful renderings of "Sweet Adeline." He was accepted.

IN the course of time arrived the nine children who made such a difference in the young banker's life.

At the age of twenty-five Joseph Kennedy was made president of the Columbia Trust Company's suburban bank at Boston.

A little later he met the magnate Charles Schwab, who was so impressed with his fire that he engaged him to direct 55,000 men working in yards. It was during shipbuilding that time Kennedy met America's energetic Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Kennedy

DAILY EXPRESS, 30th DECEMBER, 1937.



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CONFIDENTIAL.

U.S.A. - U.K.
British Embassy,
Washington, D.C.,

Was. No. 122

November 16th, 1937

Memorandum to
The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

United States - Foreign Policy.
China and Japan.

NP
In continuation of paragraph 2 of my
Was. No. 117, whilst it is considered certain that
any move that would make the United States of America
leader in any international measures against Japan
would meet with the strongest opposition in Congress,
there is no sign that the administration has any
intention of taking such a lead: its policy continues
to be collaboration but avoidance of going in front of
other states.

92
2. In the "Christian Science Monitor" of the
10th November a very interesting and extremely
friendly article by R. L. Buell, President of the
Foreign Policy Association of New York, dealt with
Anglo-American cooperation. It began that "many
intellectual and business leaders, not to mention
people in high political position, believe that the
enormous military and economic strength which Britain

and/ F

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

and America potentially command, should resist further inroads of aggressive dictatorships." It then emphasised the many obstacles in the way of Anglo-American cooperation: "In the first place, while there is a group which favours such cooperation, there is a vociferous band in America afflicted with a severe case of Anglophobia. To this latter group, any proposal of positive cooperation with the League or otherwise is a 'sly plot' to induce America to pull British chestnuts out of the fire. For a time the settlement of the Irish question weakened somewhat the strength of the Anglophobe school which has flourished through history. But the war debt default, the Ottawa agreements, the Hoare-Laval deal of Britain, the failure of Britain to back Mr. Stimson in 1931 or to make a trade treaty with the United States, have increased the ammunition in its hands. The intervention of the United States in the Orient will only serve the imperial interests of Britain, the school says. The arresting title of an otherwise unimportant book 'England Expects Every American to Do His Duty', expresses the suspicion of a group more vocal than, if not as numerous as, those who believe in full Anglo-American cooperation." Secondly in the present

crisis/

crisis in the Orient the isolationist tradition of America, which reached its height in the Neutrality Act of May, 1937, will work against Anglo-American cooperation. "If the United States desires now to adopt a positive policy, along the lines of the President's Chicago speech, Britain will inevitably point out to the United States that the British fleet cannot be moved from the Mediterranean so long as the present European crisis lasts; and that if the United States wishes to assume an equal responsibility, it should undertake to police the Pacific. Many Americans do not realise that Britain is bearing a major part of the burden of maintaining the peace of Europe today, and certainly they would recoil from any suggestion that their own Government assume virtually single-handed responsibility for checking the aggressions of Japan. At a time when neither Britain nor France, despite their mutual solidarity, is willing to use force to protect what at one time would have been regarded as 'vital' interests along the Rhine and in the Mediterranean, America cannot be expected to run the risk of a single-handed clash with Japan over interests much more remote." The writer's conclusion is that Anglo-American cooperation in the politico-military

field/

field is out of the question in time of peace. What is not so clear is whether the United States would again enter a general war in which Britain was fighting a losing battle. Whilst the forces opposing such an entrance would probably be greater than in 1917, nevertheless, if the principles of the Neutrality Act continued to exist - namely, refusing to protect American ships and commercial interests upon the high seas - Britain would be able, without arousing American antagonism, to commit the same type of acts against which the State Department so vigorously protested between 1915-17. The paradoxical result of the Neutrality Act might be, therefore, to clear away one obstacle which prevented America from entering the war against Germany sooner than it actually did. Some Americans, moreover, are coming to realise that whatever its past defects the British Empire now is an institution which is gradually molding both white and coloured peoples along the lines of liberalism and self-government, and constitutes a shield protecting the western hemisphere from attack. The article concludes with a plea for a more forthcoming British attitude to the debt question, /

-5-

question, the conclusion of a trade agreement,
and consideration of Germany's just demands in
return for an arms agreement and the return of
Germany to the League.

Keith Gray



2, WHITEHALL GARDENS,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

S.4281

Air mail - 25.8.37.
Due to arrive - 8.9.37.

MEMORANDUM TO:-

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

U. S. A.

The American Ambassador in London, Mr. Robert W. Bingham, sailed on the 21st August for Quebec en route for Washington. His departure from England was unexpected. The "Observer's" Washington correspondent reports that it would not be surprising if the Ambassador's personal business affairs were found too pressing to permit him to resume responsibilities in London. He states that it has been well understood for some time that another appointment to the Court of St. James's is likely, and the present trip seems to offer a feasible method and time for retirement.

Information, the correspondent continues, is less specific about the probable appointee. "Although speculation for some time has centred upon Mr. Joseph Davies, present American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, there are many other aspirants with political claims on President Roosevelt and personal qualifications. Among them is Mr. Myron C. Taylor, president of the United States Steel Corporation, who was the chief factor in working out a collective bargaining agreement between "big steel" and John L. Lewis, the aggressive leader of the Committee of Industrial Organisation, which avoided a strike. This greatly increased his credit at the White House."

Myron C. Taylor
Kay
John L. Lewis

Alfred Stirling

ORIGINAL

FORWARDED

KENT

J
dw

Hull Foreign Policy Text

Text of this Government's foreign policy, as expressed on July 16 by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and commended subsequently by more than 40 other nations, was as follows:

I have been receiving from many sources inquiries and suggestions arising out of disturbed situations in various parts of the world.

Unquestionably there are in a number of regions tensions and strains which on their face involve only countries that are near neighbors but which in ultimate analysis are of inevitable concern to the whole world. Any situation in which armed hostilities are in progress or are threatened is a situation wherein rights and interests of all nations either are or may be seriously affected. There can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will not one way or another affect interests or rights or obligations of this country. I, therefore, feel warranted in making—in fact, I feel it a duty to make—a statement of this Government's position in regard to international problems and situations with respect to which this country feels deep concern.

Urge Self-Restraint.

This country constantly and consistently advocates maintenance of peace. We advocate national and international self-restraint. We advocate abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We advocate adjustment of problems in international relations by processes of peaceful negotiation and agreement. We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. Upholding the principle of the sanctity of treaties, we believe in modification of

provisions of treaties, when need therefore arises, by orderly processes carried out in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation. We believe in respect by all nations for the rights of others and performance by all nations of established obligations. We stand for revitalizing and strengthening of international law.

Favors Economic Security.

We advocate steps toward promotion of economic security and stability the world over. We advocate lowering or removing of excessive barriers in international trade. We seek effective equality of commercial opportunity and we urge upon all nations application of the principle of equality of treatment. We believe in limitation and reduction of armament. Realizing the necessity for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security, we are prepared to reduce or to increase our own armed forces in proportion to reductions or increases made by other countries. We avoid entering into alliances or entangling commitments but we believe in co-operative effort by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles hereinbefore stated.

Was. 12

British Embassy,
Washington, D.C.

Memorandum to
The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

May 18th, 1937

Events of the Week.

In Was. 9 the events of the week ending May 11th were briefly dealt with, and in Was. 10 I have sketched briefly the political scene at the commencement of this series. At the commencement of the past week, on May 12th, the Coronation was the principal feature in the papers both here and in New York which published pleasantly worded leading articles although in one case there was a suggestion (1) of discord regarding the position of the Duke of Windsor. (2) On May 15th the Hearst press had a surprisingly (3) laudatory leader on the British Empire.

Internal.

2. As you will see from this week's despatch

on/

-
- (1) See Annexes A, B and C. Washington Herald, Washington Post and New York Times, May 12th.
(2) See Annex D. Washington Post, February 13th.
(3) See Annex E. New York American, May 15th.

(4)
on the Political-Economic Situation (a copy of which
will reach you in due course) the political scene
continues to be overshadowed by the Supreme Court
issue, and the prospects of the Court Reform Bill
passing the Senate are as uncertain as ever. On
May 12th the press was full of reports of a possible
(5)
compromise and that the solution might be the
retirement of some of the present justices. Everyone
was waiting to see what the President would do when
(6)
he returned. The news, as he approached was that he
would not accept any compromise, and that he was
returning to continue the fight for his whole
(7)
unemployment and farm programme. Back in Washington
on May 14th the President at once let it be known that
he was not considering any compromise on the judiciary
issue, and that the bill was to be pushed through,
together with other legislation for work relief,
(8)
regulating the maximum and minimum hours of labour etc.

The/

-
- (4) 431 E of May 17th, 1937
(5) Annex F - New York Times, May 12th
(6) Annex G - New York Times, May 13th
(7) Annex H - Washington Post, May 14th
(8) Annex J - New York Times, May 15th

The opponents of the Judiciary Bill are quite
(9)
confident that it will be defeated when it comes
to a vote, probably today, in the Senate Judiciary
(10)
Committee but talk of various compromises and
(11)
expedients still persists.

Budget.

3. Meanwhile the House continues to show
interest in the budget situation, and on May 11th a
House sub-committee made cuts in the relief programme
(12) (13)
budget which were restored by the full Committee.

Industrial.

4. In the industrial sphere a sudden strike
of Pittsburgh steel workers on May 12th to obtain
recognition of the new Committee for an Industrial
Organisation union was ended in two days by an
agreement that the question which union was to
(14)
represent the workers should be decided by a ballot
but other steel concerns in the Pittsburgh area are
(15)
now threatened.

5./

-
- (9) Annex J - New York Times, May 16th
(10) Annex K - New York Times, May 18th
(11) Annexes L, M - Washington Post, May 17th and
New York Times, May 18th
(12) Annex N - New York Times, May 12th
(13) Annex O - New York Times, May 14th
(14) Annex P - Washington Post, May 15th
(15) Annex Q - New York Times, May 16th

Financial

5. The stock exchange continues to be
(16)
depressed and prices are still declining.

Foreign
Affairs

6. As regards affairs abroad the meeting of
the Imperial Conference is being followed with
(17)
interest, which is inclined to concentrate on the
(18)
economic issue and the hope that the way may be
paved for the conclusion of the commercial agreement
between the United Kingdom and United States of
(19)
America. Some publicity has been given to the report
that the Australian Delegation will press for a
(20)
reciprocal understanding in the Pacific. On the
whole the tendency is to be very friendly to British
(21)
policy and to emphasise that British prestige is high.

- John*
SM
-
- (16) Annex R - New York Times, May 17th
(17) Annexes S, T - Washington Post, May 14th,
New York Times, May 17th
(18) Annex U - Washington Post, May 15th
(19) Annex V - New York Times, May 16th
(20) Annex W - New York Times, May 16th
(21) Annexes X, Y, Z - Washington Post, May 13th,
and May 16th, and New York
Times, May 17th.



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Was. 3.

British Embassy,
Washington, D. C.

May 6th, 1937

Memorandum to
The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

United States of America.
INTEREST IN INTER DOMINION RELATIONS.

Reports of the drafting of a new constitution for Ireland have had a conspicuous place in the United States news. Their tendency has generally been to emphasise the retention of a link with the British Commonwealth of Nations by means of the provision that the Irish State may remain or become associated with any international group for matters of common concern.

Kelli Grain

*4/11/37
J.M.*

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Trade section of this report
sent to Mr Nicholson who
promised to return it on 3rd May

Returned
on trade file
J.H.

RS. 17
5
J. G. H. 1/12/2.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

THE UNITED STATES.

Part 1. Review of recent Relations between
the United Kingdom and United States.

Part 2. Review of recent Relations between
Australia and the United States.

Part 1.

Neutrality

Review of U.S.
During the year 1936 the policy of the United States in world affairs continued to be one of neutrality. On the 24th August, 1935, when the Italo-Abyssinian dispute was reaching a critical stage, a joint Resolution (having the force of law), on the subject of Neutrality, was passed by Congress to meet the exigencies of the moment.

The Resolution required the President "upon the outbreak of or during the progress of war between two or more foreign States" to issue a proclamation enumerating the arms and ammunition whose export was prohibited by the Resolution. In addition it provided -

(a) A National Munitions Control Board with authority to license all firms engaged in the manufacture, importation or exportation of arms.

(b) A Presidential Proclamation, mandatory in time of war, forbidding American vessels to carry arms and ammunition to belligerent ports or to neutral ports for re-shipment.

(c) Discretionary authority for the President to prohibit United States citizens from travelling on vessels of belligerent Powers; except at their own risk.

(d) Discretionary authority for the President to prevent the transport of men or war supplies from American ports to war vessels of belligerent nations near American territorial waters.

(e) Discretionary authority for the President to restrict or prevent belligerent submarines from entering American ports or territorial waters.

This Resolution was passed against the wishes (so far as its mandatory provisions were concerned) of the President and the State Department, but so strong was the desire "to keep out of foreign entanglements" that all the President could secure as a concession was a time limit to the effect of the Resolution - i.e., the 29th February, 1936.

Acting under the Resolution the President, early in October, 1935, issued proclamations placing an embargo on arms to both Italy and Abyssinia and warning American citizens against travelling on ships of either belligerent.

RS 17/5
pm

In his message to Congress on the 3rd January, President Roosevelt recommended legislation embodying a permanent neutrality policy to replace the Resolution, which was about to expire.

Certain implications of this message and the terms of the draft Neutrality Bills, which had been prepared, caused considerable concern to authorities in the United Kingdom. The obvious interpretation of American policy appeared to be that in the event of a future war outside America, the United States would remain neutral at all costs. For that reason the probable result of the application of such a policy on the British Commonwealth of Nations, should it be involved in war, necessitated the closest examination.

So far as the interests of the British Commonwealth were concerned, it had hitherto been felt that even if the United States could not be relied on to fight themselves, as they had done in the war of 1914-18, the British Commonwealth would at all events be able to obtain from them the means of carrying on the struggle. Now, however, it was feared that the enactment of the new Bill would render the hope of United States assistance more precarious, depending as it would solely upon the power and willingness of Congress and the President to make a discrimination in the British Commonwealth's favour.

One important point was that the Bill expressly exempted foodstuffs from export restriction. It was felt that, in the event of the British Commonwealth possessing command of the sea and conducting something in the nature of a blockade, the fact that foodstuffs were especially exempted from restrictions might mean that the United States Government would feel obliged to protest if we stopped foodstuffs other than those which could be shown to be destined for the use of the enemy's armed forces.

At the same time it was realised that in actual practice our position, and the possible exercise by the United States of a discrimination in our favour, would depend, as it did in the 1914-18 war, to a large extent upon the state of American public opinion. If, for instance, the war had arisen by a recognised violation by our enemy of the Kellogg Pact, American public opinion would probably be in our favour.

The drafting of the Neutrality Bill gave rise to so much controversy that eventually Congress decided to defer the measure until 1937. In the meantime the Resolution of August, 1935, was extended to the 1st May, 1937, with certain amendments, including the prohibition of the floating of new loans to belligerents.

The position with regard to the shelving of the Neutrality Bill was well summarised by Walter Lippmann in the New York "Herald Tribune" of 11th February, 1936:

"Though it has become clear that the best thing to do with the neutrality bill is to lay it aside and extend the present law, the discussion has been useful. It has served to clear away a number of illusions which tended very seriously to confuse the foreign policy of the United States.

For the bill was the joint product of two opposing schools of thought, the one wishing to keep us out of war by blockading America, the other wishing to participate in the sanctions of the League of Nations under the guise of neutrality.

The debate, of which the Nye investigation has been a part, has made it much clearer than it ever was before that neither of these policies will stand up under inquiry.

.....

The second policy, which found a timid expression in the neutrality bill, the policy of using neutrality to support the League by one-sided embargoes against the aggressor, has also been found out in the course of the debates. It has been recognised by an increasing number among those of us who wish the League well and believe it to be the only hope of Europe today and desire not to impair its authority or to interfere with its actions, that the United States, because it is not a member, is morally debarred and practically unable to act as if it were a member.

It is immoral to join in the judgment of the aggressor when we have had no share in or full knowledge of the diplomacy which created the situation that ends in the aggression. What do we know of the promises that M. Laval made to Mussolini or of what Sir John Simon did and did not do that caused Mussolini to think he could safely proceed? We know so little that we cannot as a people judge the final result, and we must as a matter of fundamental law and justice take the position that we can not apply to others laws that we do not make and laws by which we ourselves are not bound."

On the 20th June, 1936, after the collapse of Abyssinia the President by a further proclamation declared the provisions of his earlier proclamations to be at an end, as the conditions which had led to their being made no longer existed.

With regard to the question of American public opinion and a war in which the British Commonwealth might be engaged, the terms of Mr. Eden's speech at Leamington on 20th November, 1936, are notable. Mr. Eden stated categorically that British arms would never be used for a purpose inconsistent with the Covenant of the League or the Pact of Paris.

(2)
Co-operation
in
Social &
Humanitarian
Work

The policy of the United States can hardly be described otherwise than as being "more isolationist than ever". Both of the major parties in the election campaign advocated isolation. The Democratic platform, for instance, contained no reference to the World Court or the Kellogg Pact. On the other hand the United States is playing an increasing part in certain aspects of world affairs. Speaking on the 14th August at Chataqua the President said:

"We shun political commitments which might entangle us in foreign wars; we avoid connection with the political activities of the League of Nations; but I am glad to say that we have co-operated whole-heartedly in the social and humanitarian work at Geneva. Thus we are a part of the world effort to control traffic in narcotics, to improve international health, to help child welfare, to eliminate double taxation, and to better working conditions and labouring hours throughout the world. We are not isolationists except in so far as we seek to isolate ourselves completely from war!"

(3)
Pan-Americanism: As a consequence of the furtherance of its isolationist policy, the United States during the year has swung further in the direction of Pan-Americanism. In his speech of 14th August the President, after referring with pride to the unfortified

Canadian boundary, mentioned the Pan-American Convention involving the principle of non-intervention, which his Administration had negotiated, and continued:

"We have abandoned the Platt Amendment which gave us the right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cuba. We have withdrawn American marines from Haiti. We have signed a new treaty which places our relations with Panama on a mutually satisfactory basis. We have undertaken a series of trade agreements with other American countries to our mutual commercial profit. At the request of two neighbouring Republics, I hope to give assistance in the final settlement of the last serious boundary dispute between any of the American nations."

The Pan-American Conference for the maintenance of Peace, to which President Roosevelt had issued invitations at the beginning of the year, opened at Buenos Aires on 1st December. The President, accompanied by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, travelled specially to Argentina for the Conference. On the 12th December the representatives of 21 Republics of North and South America signed a Collective Security Convention, (providing for an obligation to consult amongst the American Nations in the event of a threat to American peace), which was drafted so as to cover all contingencies affecting the collective peace of the two continents.

(4)
Re-armament

While pursuing her policies of neutrality and Pan-American peace the United States has at the same time greatly increased her military expenditure. During the Buenos Aires Conference the Chilean press took the opportunity to contrast President Roosevelt's pacific declarations with the increasing expenditure on all the United States services and warned the South American republics to be equally practical and not neglect their defences because of the signature of peace conventions. The President's budget message in January 1937 referred to the very large sum of \$980,000,000 for the year 1937-38 for national defence, a record peace-time expenditure.

(57)
Exchange
Equilibrium

In the financial sphere one very important step was taken by the United States which may well prove highly effective in the promotion of peace. On 25th September it was announced that the United States had reached an agreement with the United Kingdom and French Governments in regard to French monetary policy. While there was no written agreement, simultaneous declarations were issued by the three Governments stating their anxiety to maintain the greatest possible equilibrium in the system of international exchange. As a result of this agreement France decided to devalue its currency, a step which was immediately followed by Switzerland and the Netherlands, and a little later by Italy and Czechoslovakia. Without the support of the United States and the United Kingdom this re-adjustment of currencies by international agreement could not have been realised.

my Mathew's Section
Part II Comes in here

(2)
(B)

Attachment of Australian Officers to Washington.

marginal heading

In June 1936 it was suggested that the appointment of an External Affairs Officer to the British Embassy at Washington would be an opportune ^{step} ~~move~~, both as a gesture of friendship to the United States Government to offset any misunderstanding which might have resulted from the Commonwealth's Trade diversion policy, and also as providing a direct means of approach to the United States Government. Such an attachment had been advocated by Mr. Bruce in 1932, and The Foreign Office also intimated that they would welcome such a proposal. Representatives in Australia of foreign countries and especially ^{those} of the United States, have often said that their officials feel the lack of an Australian officer with whom they could discuss matters of common interest and obtain the Commonwealth ^{point of view.} ~~view~~ ^{of the appointment of an Australian Liaison Officer to the British Embassy at Washington} ~~point~~. The question [^] was submitted to Cabinet, which approved of the principle of such an appointment, (on 10th July, 1936,) ^{thereupon} ~~and~~ The Foreign Office was [^] consulted as to the details of the appointment. A reply was received on 17th October expressing the pleasure of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at the proposal, which was described as a practical contribution to the cause of intra-Imperial co-operation. He also suggested that the ^{status} ~~title~~ of ~~Australian~~ "Counsellor" would be the most suitable. This suggestion was agreed to by Cabinet on 7th December, 1936, and it was decided to proceed with the appointment ^{of an officer to be known as the "Australian Counsellor."} The salary of the post was fixed at £636-708, to be supplemented by an allowance at the rate of £1,000 per annum if unmarried, and of £1,200 per annum if married.

On 6th January, 1937, the Foreign Office was asked to submit the Commonwealth Government's proposal for the appointment of an Australian Counsellor to His Majesty the King, and on 30th January the Foreign Office advised the High

Commissioner that His Majesty was glad to approve of the proposal that a member of the Australian Department of External Affairs should be attached to His Majesty's Embassy at Washington. It was decided to appoint Major F.K. Officer, O.B.E., M.C., LL.B., to this post, and the appointment was announced in the morning press on 10th February, 1937.

Considerable interest has been displayed both in the Australian and American press, and as early as 30th November 1936, the press reported that great interest had been aroused in Washington by the news that an Australian representative was to be appointed there. On 17th December, the press again referred to what was still only a rumour and alleged that Washington viewed the scheme very favourably and that it was thought likely that Mr. Ferrepont Moffat, at present Consul-General for the United States in Sydney, should be made Consul-General in Canberra, and that the post ^{might} ~~should~~ later be raised to that of Minister. Following the announcement on 10th February, a great deal of favourable ~~press~~ comment was made in the Australian press, including a number of leading articles in the principal metropolitan dailies.

It is felt that the appointment of officers to centres of particular importance to Australia will give continuity to the policy of maintaining the closest & most friendly relations with all countries in the Pacific zone. It will also facilitate the provision by the British Government of trained & experienced officers in international affairs & lay the foundation for any future representation of a higher status which the Government of the day may consider necessary.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES.

L. L. O. Note - dated 9.6.33.

Discriminatory Customs Duties on British Coal.

The George E. Warren Corporation of Boston and the General Coal Company of Philadelphia have brought a test case before the United States Customs Court in an endeavour to secure exemption for imports of British and German coal from the tax of 10 cents per 100 lb. imposed under Section 601 (a) of the Revenue Act of 1932 on coal imported from countries which export more coal to the United States than they import from that country. The court has given judgment for the plaintiffs, on the ground that imposition of that duty would cause discrimination in violation of the most-favoured-nation clause of treaties existing between the United States and the two countries involved. It is not yet known whether an appeal has been lodged against this judgment.

ABERMILL
BOND
MADE IN GREAT BRITAIN

No.

MAY 29 1933

27

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Washington
presents his compliments to The Prime Minister of the Commonwealth
of Australia
and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British.....Embassy.....

Washington, D. C.
.....

.....April 18th....., 1933.....

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
From: "New York Times" dated: April 13th, 1933.	Discussions with President Roosevelt on economic subjects.

K-9

30 MAY 1933

3479 20498 A (2)

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

PRESIDENT INVITES 42 MORE COUNTRIES

All Participants in World Conference Now Included in Washington Talks.

JOINT DISCUSSION LIKELY

Roosevelt Probably Will Ask MacDonald and Herriot to Visit White House Together.

3 ACCEPTANCES RECEIVED

Japan, Brazil and Canada Notify Hull—New Group Urged to Use Diplomatic Channels.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
WASHINGTON, April 12.—The administration has sought to appease dissatisfaction among the Little Entente and other powers at not being invited to send representatives here for discussions with President Roosevelt on economic subjects preliminary to the World Monetary and Economic Conference in London by formally inviting all of them to discussions through their chiefs of mission in Washington.

This represents no substantial change in plans, but the formal invitations have tended to accomplish their purpose, judging from the informal expressions of delight in various embassies and legations when they arrived by mail this morning. They were posted by the State Department last night. Each consisted of a personal note from Secretary Hull and an official invitation to the discussions.

The invitations were sent to forty-two Ambassadors, Ministers and Charges, all of those whose countries are to participate in the London conference but who had not been formally invited to send Ministers to attend the deliberations here. They explained that representatives from abroad had not been invited in the majority of cases merely because that would make the discussions too large and protracted. A "Confidential basis" of major representation had been the specification for those previously invited.

Forty-two Countries Invited.

The invitations were sent to the chiefs of mission of the following countries: Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Irish Free State, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of South Africa, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

The personal note to each of them from Secretary Hull read:

I am sending you herewith an official invitation similar to one we are addressing to all countries suggesting an early exchange of views between our two governments before the forthcoming economic conference in London and hope very much that the idea will appeal to your government.

There is so short a time remaining before the probable opening of the conference that a detailed examination with a special representative sent to this country would only seem possible with a very few countries. In the case of the others, I believe that the conversations could most usefully take place through regular diplomatic channels, the more so as I am convinced that we can satisfactorily cover the same broad ground.

I look forward therefore to receiving an expression of your government's views whenever it is most convenient to you.

Text of the Invitation.

The text of the official invitation follows:

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Ambassador (or Minister) of (the country addressed) and has the honor to suggest the advisability of an early exchange of views preliminary to the forthcoming World Economic Conference in London. Experience has shown the wisdom of adequate preparation in advance of any international gathering and the desirability of early and frank discussion of problems which are of common interest to the participating nations.

Canadian Legation to the invitations for representatives of their governments to come here for conversations with President Roosevelt.

These diplomatic missions have not been officially advised as to whom their representatives will be, but a report that Viscount Ishii will represent Japan has given emphasis to suggestions that the Tokyo Government hopes to discuss political as well as economic problems with President Roosevelt. Viscount Ishii is not known as an economic expert, but rather as a diplomat of wide experience and viewpoints.

It has long been understood that Japan desired an opportunity to send him to this country to explain the Far Eastern situation from the Japanese standpoint and it is apparent that Tokyo was glad to seize the present opportunity to achieve that purpose.

That he will find President Roosevelt a sympathetic listener is taken for granted. How much the President will contribute his own views on other than economic subjects is not yet evident. A hint that he might not go deeply into political problems at this time was given by Secretary Hull today when he said he assumed the invitations, which specified economic discussions, would be duly regarded both by the hosts and the guests.

At Least One Joint Talk Likely.

The tendency of the conversations to broaden beyond the scope first contemplated, not only as to subjects but as to the form of the discussions, was demonstrated today when the White House admitted that the President would probably hold joint fireside conversations with Prime Minister MacDonald of Great Britain and former Premier Herriot of France, whose visits will overlap a few days.

The stated intention was to hold conversations separately, but that procedure, it is now realized by the President, cannot be completely adhered to. The effort, however, will be to conduct them on an individual basis as far as possible.

The experts who accompany the governmental representatives, it was said, will not be received by the President for joint discussions with those of other powers.

Secretary Hull explained that, presumably, there would be not too much shop talk at social gatherings about the Presidential fireside with more than one foreign representative present. Naturally, the Secretary of State said, the official visitors could not be kept in separate, airtight compartments.

President Roosevelt will have Mr. MacDonald and other Prime Ministers who may come here as his guests at the White House, but those of lesser rank will be the guests of their embassies and legations. The White House is not large enough to take care of them all.

New French Envoy to Call Today.

Arrangements for the visit of M. Herriot will be discussed tomorrow by André Lefebvre de Laboulaye, the new French Ambassador, when he will call on Secretary Hull to pay his respects and ask that a time be set for him to present his credentials to the President. M. Laboulaye called informally on Under-Secretary of State William Phillips today to renew an acquaintanceship of many years.

Hans Luther, the new German Ambassador, who is due to arrive Friday, will call on Secretary Hull Saturday.

Economic discussions between Secretary Hull and Sir Ronald Lindsay, the British Ambassador, will be resumed Friday. Indications are that they will have the groundwork well prepared when Mr. MacDonald arrives on April 21.

Already, it was learned today, virtually all the topics on the economic conference agenda have been discussed by them, and there is substantial agreement as to principles with reference to a majority of the topics. War debts are said to have been mentioned in these conversations, but no agreement has been reached on this question. Nor is there yet unanimity of view with reference to silver or the return of Great Britain to the gold standard.

The most practical method for reducing tariffs is also a problem remaining to be ironed out. The present disposition is to favor bilateral tariff reduction agreements rather than a flat decrease on a percentage basis by all countries.

Great Britain is said to be contending for a lowering of the American tariff wall in return for her resumption of the gold standard. There is yet to be a meeting of minds on this point.

There is so short a time remaining before the probable opening of the conference that a detailed examination with a special representative sent to this country would only seem possible with a very few countries. In the case of the others, I believe that the conversations could most usefully take place through regular diplomatic channels, the more so as I am convinced that we can satisfactorily cover the same broad ground.

I look forward therefore to receiving an expression of your government's views whenever it is most convenient to you.

Text of the Invitation.

The text of the official invitation follows:

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Ambassador [or Minister] of [the country addressed] and has the honor to suggest the advisability of an early exchange of views preliminary to the forthcoming World Economic Conference in London.

Experience has shown the wisdom of adequate preparation in advance of any international gathering and the desirability of full and frank discussion of problems which are of common interest to the participating nations. The American Government would accordingly welcome an expression of the views of the government of [the country addressed] on any of the items of the agenda for the economic conference and is in turn prepared to set forth its own views, thus initiating an informal discussion.

Mr. Hull does not need to reiterate the high importance the American Government attaches to the outcome of the World Economic Conference or the resultant improvement in world trade and commerce which it anticipates. Meantime, he looks forward to the suggested interchange of opinions as a measure of cooperation which will result not only in a better understanding of the problems involved but in the creation of a favorable public opinion, both of which should contribute to the final success of the conference.

Three Acceptances Received.

Formal acceptances were received orally today from the embassies of Japan and Brazil and from the

present disposition is to favor bilateral tariff reduction agreements rather than a flat decrease on a percentage basis by all countries.

Great Britain is said to be contending for a lowering of the American tariff wall in return for her resumption of the gold standard. There is yet to be a meeting of minds on this point.

~~SECRET~~

Res

UNITED STATES.

Rel and GB

26

L.L.O. Note - dated 31.3.33.

British Inventors' Claims.

The Commission for the Adjustment of British Inventors' Claims has adjudicated on the seventeen claims submitted to it, and has awarded a total sum of 255,500 dollars to seven of the claimants. This sum was included in the Second Deficiency Act for 1933, and approved by President Hoover on the 4th March last, and it is understood that the money has now been paid to the claimants.

16.
26 MAY 1933

25
KO/JS

23 MAY 1933

MEMORANDUM FOR:-

The Secretary,
Department of the Treasury.

.....
I enclose herewith copy of despatch No. 508 from the British Embassy, Washington, to the Foreign Office, dated 30th March, reporting on discussions between His Majesty's Ambassador and representatives of the United States State Department on the question of an international agreement to restrict the production of wheat, and the tariff policy generally.

KS
for Secretary.

ALSO TO T. & C. AND COMMERCE.



✓
MAY 15 1933

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, D.C.

March 30th, 1933.

FORWARDED WITH THE COMPLIMENTS
OF THE BRITISH EMBASSY.

The Prime Minister of Australia,

C/o the Dominions Office,

London, S.W.1.

No. 508.

24
BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C.,
March 30th, 1933.

Sir,

23
I have the honour to report that the discussions on economic questions with the United States Administration referred (to in my despatch No. 499 of this date) were continued (at a further meeting) at the State Department on the morning of March 29th. (The same United States representatives were present as on the earlier occasion. Mr. Chalkley accompanied me as well as Mr. Bewley.)

2. The question of an international agreement to restrict production of wheat was first raised by the Secretary of State. The United States authorities regarded such an agreement between the major exporting countries as a necessity if the present policy of the importing countries to restrict their imports continued. The United States could not solve the problem alone, since even if she could restrict production to her domestic requirements, which was in fact problematical, this would not in present conditions be enough to bring about any substantial rise in wheat prices. An agreement between the four great wheat exporting countries, Canada, Australia, Argentina and the United States of America, would certainly be necessary, and Mr. Hull doubted whether even this could be made effective unless the Balkans and Russia could be brought in. Russia might not

perhaps/

The Right Honourable

Sir John Simon, G.C.B.E., K.C.V.O.,

Etc., etc., etc.

Kog 17 MAY 1933

perhaps in any event be able to export any substantial amounts of wheat in the near future, but it was feared that a material rise in the price level might bring about a large increase of acreage in South-Eastern Europe. European countries might perhaps be induced to refrain from pushing to excess their costly policies of self-sufficiency in wheat growing if they had inducements in the opening up of foreign markets for the commodities which they were more advantageously situated to produce.

3. Mr. Hull went on to enquire about the operation of the wheat bonus in Great Britain and its effects on the importation of wheat. He gave him some information regarding the measures in force in Great Britain and added that His Majesty's Government were in agreement on the necessity of raising the world price of wheat as part of a general rise in the level of commodity prices, and would no doubt be prepared to give special and sympathetic consideration to the problems of both regulation of supplies and increase of consumption. However, as the United Kingdom acreage had been reduced by one-third during the ten years from 1920 to 1930 and according to reports, had only been increased last year by the trivial amount of 91,000 acres, we should hardly be regarded as directly concerned in the proposed restriction agreement. Mr. Hull did not demur to this but suggested that Canadian representatives should be invited to be present at a further discussion on wheat at a later date. Though I should not have proposed a tripartite discussion myself, I did not feel able to object to this proposal when it

was/

was pressed both by Mr. Hull and by Mr. Holey.

4. Mr. Hull then spoke at length on tariff policy and the trend of all countries to extreme economic nationalism. He wondered whether the nations had yet suffered sufficiently to make them willing to relax the excessive tariff barriers and other restrictions even worse than tariffs which were throttling trade. He thought that there were three lines of action along which progress should be attempted. These were:

(i) the development of new markets; in this connection he referred particularly to the great effect that would be brought about by even a small increase in the standard of living and purchasing power of the large populations of the Asiatic countries.

(ii) the acceptance of the principle that only efficient and nationally advantageous industries should be fostered by protective tariffs. This would mean the lowering or abolition of those tariffs in the first place which were imposed with the idea of bringing about national self-sufficiency by promoting the growth of industries not naturally suited to the country.

(iii) as a later step would come the all round reduction of tariffs.

5. Mr. Hull went on to say that it would not be enough to reach paper agreements at the World Economic Conference; it would be necessary to make arrangements which would ensure that the agreements

reached/

reached were ^{in fact} put into operation by the Governments concerned.

6. We found no difficulty in expressing cordial agreement with Mr. Hull's views generally and mentioned that the Prime Minister had repeatedly announced that it was the policy of His Majesty's Government to seek the lowering of tariff barriers. I expressed the view that restriction of production was only a palliative, justified, if at all, as a temporary measure to meet an abnormal situation, and that the real remedy lay in expansion of trade and consumption. We thought it fitting at this point, however, to refer to the effects on world economy of the efforts of the United States to maintain her position both as a creditor country and as a country with an export surplus. This produced a profound disequilibrium in the world and forced the introduction of restrictions and the lowering of prices by other countries. Mr. Moley admitted that the policies of the Hoover administration had been ~~anomalous~~ ^{anomalous} in this respect; he did not think that any early resumption of large scale American foreign lending could be anticipated, and perhaps implied, though he certainly did not explicitly admit, that the American export surplus would have to be reduced by increased purchases from abroad.

7. Professor Moley remarked that the straightforward reduction of tariffs was not easy to get accepted by public opinion and that in any case
tariff/

tariff reduction could be counteracted by monetary manipulation in foreign countries. The same sort of effect as that obtained by tariff reduction might be reached by monetary action, and from the point of view of public opinion it might be easiest to approach the problem from this point of view first. Exactly what Mr. Meley had in mind in these remarks was not explained owing to lack of time, and this aspect of the matter will be further discussed at a later meeting.

8. During the course of discussion Mr. Hull delicately, but with evident intention, and with the Ottawa agreements in view, voiced disapproval of the extension of special preferences "between great autonomous countries" and later asked indirectly whether the future tariff policy of His Majesty's Government would be based on unconditional most-favoured-nation treatment. As he continued to talk on other aspects of tariffs there was no need for me to make any observations on these two.

9. Finally Mr. Hull emphasized the ignorance of public opinion on tariff and economic relations existing in all countries and particularly in the United States. Public opinion had to be enlightened and in this country it had to prod the spineless politicians. This inspired Mr. Meley, Mr. Hull supporting him, to reassert that this was one reason why it was so desirable that the Prime

Minister/

Minister should visit this country on account of his power of appeal to wider than national interests. Both referred to this so expectantly that I had to say something, which was that this of course was a Cabinet matter but that I might have something to tell them shortly.

10. At the conclusion of the conversations the State Department issued the following brief statement to the press:-

"The discussion of topics of general economic interest continued today. We will meet again on Friday."

11. I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada, the Prime Minister of Australia c/o the Dominions Office and the Department of Overseas Trade.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

(Sgd.) R.C.LINDSAY



MAY 15 1933

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

FORWARDED WITH THE COMPLIMENTS
OF THE BRITISH EMBASSY.

The Prime Minister of Australia,
c/o The Dominions Office,
London, S.W.1.

30th March, 1933

23
UNITED STATES TREASURY,
WASHINGTON, D.C.
30th March, 1933

Sir,

I have the honour to report that my first detailed discussion on economic questions with the United States Administration took place at the State Department on the morning of the 27th March. I was accompanied by Mr. Bowley while the United States representatives were Mr. Hull, Professor Moley and Dr. Feis.

2. Professor Moley had given me notice that the subject for discussion would be silver, the rather curious reason which he gave for the choice being that the question of silver presented less difficulties than some others and that it might be convenient to get it out of the way first of all.

3. At an early stage in the discussion we raised the fundamental question whether it was the policy of the United States Government to try to obtain a rise in the price of silver apart from a general rise in commodity prices. We pointed out in particular that as China is normally an importer of silver a rise in the price of silver alone would not increase her capacity to import other commodities, while the resulting increase in the value of her currency unit might be definitely disadvantageous to her. Against this it was argued that a rise in the price of silver would/

The Right Honourable

Sir John Simon, G.C.B.I., K.C.V.O.,

K.S.
47 MAY 1933 Etc. etc. etc.

2430

would have a good psychological effect, that an increase in the value of their silver hoards would be of assistance to both China and India, and that, as was recently the case with the Indian gold hoards, a rise in price might bring silver out of private hands for export. It became apparent however that the United States representatives were less interested in the question whether a rise in the price of silver would be beneficial to world trade generally than in the purely American aspect of the matter, and were primarily influenced by the desire to help the silver producers and perhaps also by their wish to counteract the export premium given to China by the depreciation in the value of her currency. It was further urged that the total world production of silver was comparatively small and that it was therefore a commodity whose price was capable of being influenced, while there was reason to suppose that silver being in the main a by-product of other metals, a moderate rise in price would not stimulate increased production. In any case the American authorities wished to try the experiment.

4. On our referring to the view expressed by the Preparatory Commission of Experts for the World Economic Conference that "trade interests would best be served, not by a rise in the price of silver as such, but by a rise in the general level of commodity prices", Professor Holey stated with a certain degree of warmth that the United States Government were not bound by the views expressed by Professors Day and Williams and

did/

did not accept the Commission's views either on silver or on certain other matters. (He did not specify which these "other matters" were.) He went on to say that the President had pledged himself to press the silver question and that one of the American delegates to the World Economic Conference would be specially appointed with this object.

5. Four lines of action were suggested by the United States representatives with the object of raising the price of silver:-

(i) Enlarged use of silver in subsidiary coinage, including the restoration of the silver content of coins recently debased. The examination of the possibility of such an enlarged use of silver is of course one of the recommendations of the Commission of Experts and we expressed agreement with the proposal that such an examination should be made, only making all necessary reserves as regards the possibility of restoring the old silver content of the British and other currencies.

(ii) Restriction of sales of silver. This suggestion has of course special reference to the silver holdings of the Government of India. We pointed out that sales by the Government of India had been very moderate of recent years and that their holdings had in fact increased, and said that we assumed that any plan of restriction of sales implied an agreement between the interested Governments and the other silver interests, and that we understood that the Government of India had

in/

in fact offered to cooperate with the other silver interests for the purpose, but that so far no acceptable scheme had been devised. The American representatives agreed that any plan for restriction of sales implied an agreement between the Government of India and the other interests, including the American producers, and seemed hopeful that in view of the small number of hands in which production is concentrated, such an agreement might be possible of realisation.

(iii) Use of silver up to a certain proportion in addition to gold in the currency reserves of Central Banks. We expressed scepticism as to the practicability of this scheme.

(iv) Use of silver for payment of the war debts. A bill has been introduced into Congress providing for this method of payment and for the silver received to be placed in the reserve and used as backing for the issue of silver certificates. The scheme would thus operate to remove some of the stocks of silver now overhanging the market and would at the same time have a slightly inflationary effect in this country. I presume that His Majesty's Government would in fact be as willing to pay in silver as in any other medium if no extra cost were involved, but as the underlying question whether His Majesty's Government are to pay at all has still to be settled, the proposal was not seriously discussed.

6. The fact that the American Representatives had their eyes all the time on the position of their own silver interests, who may command some sixteen votes in the Senate, tended to deprive the discussion of reality and to force us to long debate of specious expedients.

But/

But His Majesty's Government might wisely consider whether there are any expedients of this nature which they could safely support. Something to help silver would be most welcome in Western America and concessions on this subject might predispose that important but benighted part of this continent to adopt a friendly attitude towards other subjects where concessions by the United States are of immediate and direct concern to His Majesty's Government and to world recovery.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada, the Prime Minister of Australia, C/o the Dominions Office, and the Department of Overseas Trade.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

(Sgd) R.C. Lindsay

055

22
KO/JS

MEMORANDUM FOR:-

The Secretary,
Department of Commerce.

.... I enclose herewith, by direction, copy of
Dominions Office cable circular B.46 containing statements
made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons
relating to his recent conversations with the
President of the United States.

Vj
Secretary.

ALSO TO TREASURY AND T. & C.

House of Representatives

26-4-33.

20

CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN
UNITED KINGDOM AND THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Mr. SCULLIN.—I ask the Prime Minister whether the Commonwealth Government has been informed of the result of the discussions between the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States of America? If so, can the right honorable gentleman make a statement to the House on the subject?

Mr. LYONS.—The Commonwealth Government is not aware of any results of the conversations between representatives of the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America, but, through the Resident Minister in London, is keeping in close contact with the British Government, and is taking the necessary steps to ensure that the particular circumstances of Australia are kept in view.

~~SECRET~~

U.S.A.

18

L.L.O. Note - 10. 2.33.

Discriminatory Duty on United Kingdom Coal.

In an earlier L.L.O. Note it was stated that, pending a ruling by the Attorney-General of the United States, the United States Treasury decision of the 19th November would remain in force, and that consequently coal from the United Kingdom would enter the United States free of the duty of 10 cents per 100 lbs. imposed on coal imported from countries which export more coal to the United States than they import from that country. On the 30th December the ruling of the Attorney-General was published and was to the effect that the Treasury decision of the 19th November was invalid for technical reasons, and that a decision of the United States courts on the applicability of the relevant treaty clauses should be awaited. The levy of duty on coal from Great Britain and Germany was thereupon resumed by Treasury order. The Attorney-General's ruling explained that "the ultimate objective is to ascertain the intention of Congress, and that on the other hand violation of international obligations is to be avoided if possible".

Steps have accordingly been taken by the British and German interests concerned to bring concurrent actions in the United States courts with a view to testing the legal position. The German Ambassador at Washington has been instructed to protest vigorously against the ruling of the United States Attorney-General and on the 10th January Sir R. Lindsay addressed to the United States Secretary of State a note protesting against the denial of the rights to which His Majesty's Government are entitled under their commercial convention of 1815.

65

30 MAR. 1933

NEW YORK "SUN" Feb. 14. 1933.

U. S. May Get Use of Singapore

Lindsay Said to Bear Important Proposals in Addition to Debt Program.

Special Cable Dispatch to THE SUN.
Copyright, 1933. All Rights Reserved.

LONDON, Feb. 14.—Great Britain's changing attitude on the Manchurian question as well as realization here that the disarmament conference is headed for a fiasco unless either Great Britain or the United States, or both, soon take a firm stand is leading to rumors that Ambassador Sir Ronald Lindsay carried proposals of foremost importance when he sailed today back to his Washington

post.

The first of these, an old story, yet revived abruptly today, is that the British are going to propose that the American navy may use the Singapore base.

This, if granted, would immensely increase the fighting efficiency of American ships, allowing for full repairs to be made in the Far East instead of having to escort a crippled ship all the way back to Pearl harbor in the Hawaiian Islands.

Before the British constructed the Singapore base, if a battleship or cruiser lost a propeller it was necessary to convoy it all the way back to Malta with an escort of cruisers and destroyers and other vessels sufficient to protect the debilitated craft against submarines.

With such an offer in effect, the effectiveness of the American fleet in the Pacific would be immensely increased.

British Attitude Changed.

As for the change of British attitude in the Manchurian question, stated simply the reason is that the British are commencing to feel that the Japanese are going too far. Their announcement of intention to occupy Jehol province in north China is feared here to be merely a prelude to a Sino-Japanese struggle wherein it is going to be difficult, almost impossible, for Europeans not to take part.

Despite financial London's sympathy toward Japan, owing to enormous holdings of Japanese bonds as the political hangover from the old Anglo-Japanese alliance and a strong body of conservative thought here which accepts the Japanese domination of Manchukuo as a fait accompli, there is growing uneasiness in Cabinet quarters that any real chance of successful Anglo-American economic and financial cooperation will some day crash head-on against the Japanese reef.

Anglo-American cooperation with the object of reconstructing shattered Europe cannot be achieved with Anglo-American discord in the Pacific, it is admitted.

It is too early yet to say whether the British are considering adopting any hostile attitude against the

Japanese or whether they would permit the League of Nations to invoke sanctions under the covenant. Therefore the knowledge that the British are contemplating offering the use of the Singapore base to the American navy would seem a sufficiently significant hint to Japanese jingoism to call a halt.

Would Cut Military Aircraft.

Another dramatic proposal the British are expected to make to the United States is for immediate cooperation toward achieving abolition of military aircraft. The British are extremely apprehensive of Germany's intention to arm first and fastest and most effectively in the air. The French and Poles, who fear the same thing, are known already to have gone a long way to assure the British of their support.

Tomorrow Col. Joseph Beck, Polish Foreign Minister, is expected to make a strong statement of Poland's foreign policy before the parliamentary committee on foreign affairs. He will stress Poland's desire for close disarmament cooperation with Great Britain, especially as regards the air.

A British-American-French-Polish agreement, if possible, it is believed, would secure real air disarmament plus international control of civilian aircraft, even if the Germans and possibly the Italians should attempt to refuse.

Besides, it is averred, something dramatic and drastic such as this seems to be the only road a real disarmament conference can take.

Beats Debt Program.

Aside from this, Sir Ronald Lindsay is bearing what are said to be specific proposals to Washington to discuss any and all subjects embraced by the world economic conference concurrent with the Anglo-American war debt talks.

It is not said, however, whether the British are willing to agree on any of them. It is a change in temper rather than a change in attitude toward facts that Sir Ronald must report to President-elect Roosevelt. Official British opinion still holds that:

Great Britain will not stabilize the pound until after the balance of payments is balanced and the pound is left free to fluctuate for a year without being pegged in order to find its level; and tariffs can only be settled as a result of

international agreements growing out of the world economic conference.

Provisional agreements, however, such as a modus vivendi pertaining to a return to the gold standard or to the scope of tariff reduction, or both might be agreed upon at Washington in return for a provisional agreement on the war debts coupled with a moratorium extending over June 15.

But the realities are that on the question of tariffs the British hands are so tied by the Ottawa conference commitments that the most Great Britain could offer is an average 10 per cent reduction on a range of manufactured goods which, if granted to the United States over the whole, would result in only a \$16,000,000 concession. Against this the British are asking for cancellation of the war debt of \$170,000,000 a year.

Lindsay Off for U. S.

SOUTHAMPTON, Feb. 14 (A. P.).—Sir Ronald Lindsay, Ambassador to the United States, sailed for America on the Majestic this afternoon to resume preliminary work for the debts conference at Washington next month.

"I'm going back with full instructions regarding the British attitude toward the war debts," he said before he went aboard. "There is little more that I can tell you, for I have gone on a gold standard of silence."

He was accompanied by T. K. Bewley, an assistant secretary at the British Treasury, who has been appointed to the new position of financial adviser to the Ambassador.

Sir Ronald parried a score of questions, explaining that he had been extraordinarily busy during his few days in London, and that no meeting had been arranged between him and President-elect Roosevelt after he reaches the United States.

He intimated that the personnel of the British debts mission had been decided upon, but he said he could not disclose the names.

The Ambassador said he did not expect to do much work during the voyage nor to keep in constant touch with London and Washington while at sea.

"Almost invariably I spend my time during a sea trip sleeping," he said, "and I shall probably do that on this voyage."

~~SECRET~~

CANADA

16

L.L.O. Note - 13. 1.33.

Ottawa Agreement: Canadian Wheat Shipments to the United Kingdom.

The ruling of the Treasury in the recent test case regarding the shipment of Canadian wheat through the United States of America to the United Kingdom has given rise to strong protests in the United States and threats of retaliatory measures to prevent consignments of rubber to the United States through the United Kingdom and the importation of silk through Canada.

His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has been instructed to explain to the American authorities concerned, in concert with the Canadian Minister, that there is no objection to such shipments provided that definite evidence is at hand to show that they were originally consigned to the United Kingdom.

Ko

21 FEB 1933

~~SECRET~~

IRISH FREE STATE.

15

L.L.O. Note - dated 5.8.32.

United Kingdom - Irish Free State Dispute.

Mr. de Valera and his Ministers have commenced a speech-making campaign in explanation and defence of their position in regard to the conflict between the Irish Free State and the United Kingdom. The chief points from Mr. de Valera's opening speech in Dublin on the 28th July were:-

- (1) That although he had done his best to settle the dispute with the "British" Government, the latter, for some unknown reason, were bent on forcing the issue.
- (2) Fianna Fail policy had always been one of making the Irish Free State self-sufficient. They had intended to go to work slowly, but the attitude of the Government of the United Kingdom would compel them to try and do in one year what would otherwise have been spread over five years. The policy of the Government was less retaliatory than constructive, and was directed towards the development of the home market.
- (3) Farmers must pay their annuities to the Government in order to strengthen the hands of the Government by increasing its credit.
- (4) The Government had taken steps to find foreign markets to replace that of the United Kingdom.

Senator Connolly, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, speaking in the Senate on the 4th August, said that he could tell Mr. Ramsay MacDonald that, whatever hopes he had of having his war debts wiped out in America, they would never even be considered so long as the dispute between the United Kingdom and the Irish Free State remained open.

Sir Thomas Inskip, the Attorney-General, addressing a Conservative meeting at Stranraer on the 4th August, stated that the very existence and status of the Irish Free State depended on the treaty. To abolish the oath without the consent of the United Kingdom Government would be to repudiate the treaty, and no one could be blind to the consequence of that step.

Kg
93 SEP 1932

and reported

The King Bill S. 306 to "provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen" was introduced in 1930. It has now been re-introduced favourably by the Immigration Committee of the U.S.A. Senate. It will allow the U.S.A. authorities to interfere, contrary to international usage, with the internal economy of foreign ships in U.S.A. ports, and will prevent certain categories of aliens (those excluded from the U.S.A. on racial grounds) being employed as seamen on foreign ships calling at U.S.A. ports. It would thus practically debar from trade with U.S.A. British vessels with Chinese or Lascar crews.

2. Although the avowed object of the King Bill was immigration restriction, its virtual effect, if not its actual object, would be to impose a handicap on foreign shipping. Moreover, it conveyed the impression of being actually directed against the British Empire since the effect of Article 7 would exempt Japanese shipping as manned by subjects of the nation and not of its dependencies. For the two latter reasons the British representative has strongly protested against the Bill to the State Department, and there were some grounds for anticipating that the Bill, if passed, would be vetoed by the President.

3. This King Bill is only another instance of the persistent attempts to pass through the U.S. Congress legislation the virtual effect of which must be to place restrictions on British shipping. In 1928 there were two attempts to extend U.S.A. jurisdiction over foreign shipping. The La Follette (S. 2945) Bill provided that foreign seamen might claim on arrival in a U.S.A. port 50% of their wages for a round voyage. The Sheppard (S. 3813) Bill was designed to enable foreign seamen to sue in a U.S.A. court for damages for an accident at sea. In 1929 the U.S.A. Shipping Board recommended legislation penalising foreign ships trading between U.S.A. ports and foreign ports other than those of the flag of the vessel concerned, and with this object the White Bills (H.R. 10127 and 10129) were introduced into the House of Representatives in 1929. Bill 2945 was re-introduced in 1930 as S. 314. In 1931 the Shipping Board urged the need for legislation to control "Tourist" voyages from U.S.A. ports by foreign vessels.

4. The question is closely watched by the British Embassy in U.S.A., who make the necessary protests from time to time, but if other countries were to take similar measures, not only would British merchant shipping be most adversely affected, but international shipping might almost be brought to a standstill.

17th March, 1932.

SECRET

UNITED STATES.

9

L.L.O. Note - 11.12.31.

Visit to Washington of Vice-Admiral Sir Vernon Haggard in H.M.S. "Delhi".

Great importance attached to the visit early in November of Vice-Admiral Sir Vernon Haggard in H.M.S. "Delhi" to Washington, for, after recent events at Invergordon, official and private classes in the capital, as well as the United States navy, were particularly anxious to see whether the British navy had altered. Exceptionally detailed arrangements for the visit were therefore made, and it is a matter of satisfaction to record that the impression created was excellent, particularly so far as the discipline of the men and the smartness of the ship was concerned.

kg
22 JAN 1982

S20

SECRET

UNITED STATES.

L.L.O. Note - 4.12.31.

Salvage Operations on Wreck of the Steamship "Lusitania".

His Majesty's Government have been approached by Captain Railey, a United States citizen, for leave to proceed with salvage operations on the wreck of the steamship "Lusitania". It is understood that the cargo would not justify the cost of salvaging, and nominally the primary object of these operations is to demonstrate the efficiency of certain patent salvage apparatus. It appears, however, that in reality the principal purpose is to attempt still and motion submarine pictures of the vessel, and arrangements are being made for the syndication of the news story. The public know, from the official history of the war, that 5,500 cases of rifle ammunition and shrapnel were stowed in the ship, and that she was not armed, even defensively. There is, therefore, no question of the proposed operations leading to inconvenient revelations, but His Majesty's Government have had to consider the susceptibilities of the relations of the 1,200 persons, mostly British subjects and American citizens, who perished in the ship. The Board of Trade have, accordingly, replied to Captain Railey that His Majesty's Government are not prepared to accept any responsibility for, or express any opinion on, his proposals. As, however, the wreck is as to 80 per cent., the property of the Crown, Captain Railey has been warned that any material salvaged from it should be reported to the Receiver of Wrecks at the nearest custom-house. His Majesty's Government would, it may be added, in any case be unable to prevent the proposed operations, as the "Lusitania" lies outside territorial waters off the west coast of the Irish Free State.

2 JAN 1982

PRESS NOTE

ANGLOPHOBIA

5

The "New York American" reprinted on October 7th the following editorial from the "New York Evening Post" of October 5th under the heading "England's unpleasant talk of us".

"The Evening Post, both in its special financial correspondence from London and in its general dispatches concerning English opinion, has been finding of late frequent reference to 'an American collapse'.

"Mr. Gerald Barry, for instance, the energetic young editor of an independent Tory weekly, the London Week End Review, says roundly:

"It now seems certain that America cannot escape a collapse'.

"Our own correspondent, Mr. Raymond Gram Swing, wires us that:

"There is no inside information quoted here about American financial troubles, but British fears of the American position are remarkably widespread.'

"We think that someone should tell London either to put up or shut up.

"By that we mean that those Englishmen who are feeding out the prophecies of an American collapse ought either to specify what they mean or stop spreading vague insinuations.

We can tell them that the effect over here is not over-fortunate either for themselves or for the world situation. In the first place our people are beginning to have their English sympathy changed to antipathy.

"At the start American opinion admired English patriotism/

patriotism and courage and the way in which Ramsay MacDonald personified both qualities. That feeling is altering decidedly.

"Today we find English whispers undermining foreign confidence in America.

"We find English financiers telling the nations that America has not the technically trained men to become the 'world's banker'.

"We hear that we haven't enough world knowledge or world responsibility to call a conference on the gold standard, 'to draw up rules for its administration,' as Barry puts it, 'and to assure the world the rules will be kept'.

"Our natural reaction to this kind of talk is to re-examine its source.

"And we can tell England quite plainly that instead of blindly admiring her, we are now beginning to ask ourselves why she got us to lend her \$400,000,000 to save the pound and then abandoned the pound over night.

"Why wasn't it enough, and, if it wasn't enough, why did not she know it beforehand and not ask useless credit?

"Also, why did England plunge off the gold standard in one fell swoop without thought of her creditors or the world at large? And, finally, how does England have the nerve to force us into a gold conference to save her from the effects of her own act?

"There is, in New York, in other words, a growing feeling toward England of what we might describe as half-truculent, half-superior confidence.

"We know that we are entering upon 'our hundred years'.

We've/

"We've got to be the world's banker, whether we want to or not. When we need technicians in this line, if we haven't bred our own, we'll buy them from abroad.

"And we certainly will turn our slow, almost lazy, wrath against England, if she continues to break American stock values and put brakes on the pound's descent by what almost looks like a definite propaganda of an 'American collapse'."

EXTRACT FROM LETTER ADDRESSED BY MAJOR CASEY, LONDON,
TO THE SECRETARY, PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT, DATED
7th AUGUST, 1930.

LON. 1817.

UNITED STATES.

The Foreign Office circulate the following note,
dated 31st July, 1930:-

"Some bother has been caused by the unexpected action of the United States Treasury Department in placing an embargo upon the importation of pulp wood from Russia on the grounds that this has been produced by convict labour. The question is one of some importance to British shipping interests in the light of the large number of British merchant vessels now under charter for the carriage of pulp wood to United States ports. At the time of writing, the position is that the representatives in the United States of the charterers of the tonnage and of the buyers of the pulp wood, as well as of Amtorg, the Soviet trading agency established in New York, have requested ninety days' grace so as to permit the ships that have arrived, are on the high seas on their way, and those loading in Russian ports, to land their cargoes in the United States before the embargo is finally enforced.

"His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has been authorised to support the petitioners in their appeals for ninety days' grace, emphasising in his representations that the sole interest of His Majesty's Government in this matter lies in protecting the shipowners concerned from losses which could not be foreseen owing to the suddenness with which the embargo was announced. His Excellency will make it abundantly clear that His Majesty's Government have no desire to contest the right of the United States Government to control their trade with Soviet Russia in any way that they desire."

Ko
10 SEP 1930

(5)

Times
18.7.30

USA
del with AB

U.S. SENATOR AND INDIA

AN ASTONISHING RESOLUTION

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

WASHINGTON, JULY 17

The efforts of a few Indian Nationalists, who have been busy in Washington for some time past, bore fruit this morning in the shape of a resolution introduced into the Senate by Senator Blaine, of Wisconsin. The last paragraph of this long document sets forth "that as India is an original signatory of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, the United States Senate instructs the State Department to use its best offices to insure a peaceful settlement of the Indian struggle, with no abridgment of the just rights of the people of India, who are seeking to emulate our own national independence."

There are nine introductory "whereases," in which can be found reference to the "ruthless" use of British armed forces and British censorship of neutral American dispatches, "wholesale massacres of peaceful Indian people by British police, soldiers, and auxiliary forces, the driving of armoured cars over the bodies of peaceful demonstrators, and the killing, maiming, and injuring of hundreds, the wiping out of villages and harvests by British aeroplanes, the revival of flogging, relics of the 'age of barbarism,' the refusal of medical aid to the maimed, and the destruction of medicines, appliances, and hospitals, and, finally, the replacing of the 'rule of law by the rule of the sword and executive ordinances.'" The resolution, says that the Senate "deplores such acts of violence, infamy, and inhumanity, committed by one signatory of the Kellogg Pact against another signatory."

Senator Blaine, who is a kindly man, with such honesty as is possible when knowledge and experience are severely limited, has accepted without question the stories which the Indian Nationalists have told him and are telling wherever they can get a hearing. He was the only man who voted against the ratification of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which, he thought, tied the future course of the United States to that of Great Britain. His present resolution will get some publicity, but it will not be approved.

Ko

26 AUG 1930

India in American Eyes

Most British readers must have received a mild shock when they read the terms of Mr. BLAINE's latest resolution in the United States Senate. After a recital of mythical atrocities which it alleges to have been perpetrated by the British in India, it goes on to deplore "such acts of violence, infamy, and inhumanity committed by one signatory of the Kellogg Pact against another signatory," and "instructs the Department of State to use its best offices to ensure a peaceful settlement of the Indian struggle with no abridgment of the just rights of the people of India, who are seeking to emulate our own national independence." Our Washington Correspondent explains that the SENATOR, "who is a kindly man, with such honesty as is possible when knowledge and experience are severely limited," has been listening to a few Indian Nationalists who have been busy in Washington for some time past, and has accepted without question the stories they are sedulously spreading. But how could anyone with the slightest power of judgment or knowledge of the world, such as is to be assumed in an American Senator, show himself so gullible? How could anyone with a sense of fairness or even of ordinary caution put his name to such mischievous twaddle without making any attempt to check the "information" provided for his benefit? Some help towards answering these questions is given in the three articles by Mr. EDWARD THOMPSON on "America and India," the first of which will be found in another column of this page.

MR. THOMPSON, whose name is best known to most people as a poet and a novelist, spent some time in India on the educational side of missionary work and is at present Lecturer in Bengali at the University of Oxford. His knowledge of India can no more be disputed than his sympathy with Indian needs and aspirations. In the United States he has been struck by the intense interest taken by Americans in the Indian situation, and by the "mass of misapprehension that underlies American thought about India." He quotes from a wide range of books and articles by self-styled "authorities" on the question, containing statements so ludicrously untrue, arguments so ludicrously unfair, that it is hard to take them seriously. But unfortunately they are taken seriously by large numbers of Americans, and are producing an effect which, unless corrected by a better knowledge of the facts, may even chill the new understanding between the two countries. On this side nothing would be more welcome than that American opinion should take an informed and intelligent interest in the Indian problem. What Mr. THOMPSON deplores—and what every one in this country will deplore with him—is that so much of the interest is neither intelligent nor informed, that so many Americans, with almost incredible gullibility, are ready to swallow any allegation to the discredit of Great Britain put about by Indian extremists and by American writers whose bias and ignorance are so plainly evident in Mr. THOMPSON's extracts. The reception which most of the great American newspapers gave to the Simon Report, and the copious summaries they published, show that there is another section anxious to know the facts and to form a fair judgment upon them. It can only be hoped that in the long run this section will prove the more influential.

S.M. Head 27 April 1933

USA

WORLD PROBLEMS.

Washington Conversations.

"FRUITFUL BEYOND EXPECTATION."

Efforts for Trade Recovery.

ECONOMIC CONFERENCE TO OPEN ON JUNE 12.

WASHINGTON, April 26.

The conversations between the British Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) and President Roosevelt on world economic problems concluded to-day, and Mr. MacDonald left for New York on his return to London.

Both statesmen are enthusiastic regarding the outcome of the conversations, which Mr. MacDonald described as being fruitful beyond expectation.

In a joint statement, Mr. MacDonald and President Roosevelt said that there should be constructive effort to moderate the network of restrictions of all sorts, by which world commerce is at present being hampered, such as excessive tariffs, quotas, and exchange restrictions, and that there should be concerted action by the central banks to provide adequate expansion of credit.

No agreements were made on any of the questions discussed, the conversations being purely for the purpose of reaching an understanding preliminary to the World Economic Conference. Britain's war debt was considered, but no mention of it was made in the joint statement.

Mr. MacDonald, President Roosevelt, and M. Herriot (France) agreed that the World Economic Conference should open in London on June 12.

JOINT STATEMENT.

The following joint statement was issued by Mr. MacDonald and President Roosevelt to-day:—

"Our discussions on the questions facing the World Conference were not designed to result in definite agreements, which must be left to the conference itself, but they have shown that our two Governments are looking with a like purpose, and with a close similarity of methods, at the main objectives of the conference, and are impressed by the vital necessity of assuring international agreements for the realisation of these objectives in the interests of the people of all countries. The practical methods required for their realisation were analysed and explored.

"The necessity for an increase in the general level of commodity prices is recognised as primary and fundamental. To this end simultaneous action needs to be taken, both in the economic and in the monetary fields, and commercial policies have to be set to a new orientation.

"There should be constructive effort to moderate the network of restrictions of all sorts, by which commerce is at present being hampered, such as excessive tariffs, quotas, exchange restrictions, etc. The central banks should, by concerted action, provide adequate expansion of credit, and every means should be used to get the credit thus created into circulation.

"Enterprise must be stimulated by creating conditions favourable to business recovery, and Governments can contribute by the development of appropriate programmes of capital expenditure.

MONETARY STANDARD.

"The ultimate re-establishment of equilibrium in international exchanges," the statement proceeded, "should also be contemplated. We must, when circumstances permit, re-establish an international monetary standard, which will operate successfully without depressing prices, and avoid repetition of the mistakes which have produced such disastrous results in the past.

"In this connection, the question of silver, which is of such importance in trade with the Orient, was discussed, and proposals were tentatively suggested for improvements in its status. These questions are all inter-related, and cannot be settled by an individual country acting by itself.

"The achievement of sound, lasting world recovery depends on co-ordinating domestic remedies, and supplementing them by concurrent and simultaneous action in the international field.

"The proposals examined will be discussed with representatives of the other nations who have been invited to Washington, with a view to securing the fullest possible measure of common understanding before the World Conference meets.

UNITY OF PURPOSE.

"It is the hope of both Governments that it will be possible to convene the conference for June. We have, in these talks, found a reassurance of unity of purpose and method. They have given fresh impetus to a solution of the problems that weigh so heavily upon the most stable, industrious, and deserving men and women of the world, the human foundation of our civilisation, whose hard luck it is our common object to alleviate."

NO AGREEMENTS.

Mr. MacDonald told newspapermen that the conversations had accomplished more than he had thought would be possible when he arrived in America. He reiterated, however,

that no agreements had been made. He was as free as when he came to Washington, but real good business had been done, and bases for substantial agreement at the World Conference had been laid.

Mr. MacDonald left Washington at noon for New York en route to London.

WAR DEBTS.

The same enthusiasm over the results of the Anglo-American conversations was expressed by those close to President Roosevelt.

War debt relief for Britain was discussed last night, but was not mentioned in to-day's final statement. This problem remains for future settlement, together with the economic programme outlined by the two statesmen. The debt payment will become due on June 15, almost simultaneously with the meeting of the World Economic Conference in London.

President Roosevelt is now considering recommendations for Congressional action on war debts and tariffs.

STERLING-DOLLAR EXCHANGE.

WASHINGTON, April 26.

Financial experts interpreted Mr. Chamberlain's announcement that the Exchange Equalisation Fund would be increased as indicating the determination of the British Government to keep sterling from rising. As it is now regarded as useless to attempt to peg sterling against the dollar, it is expected that it is contemplated to peg sterling against the gold standard countries—France, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland.

According to exchange experts, this will possibly result in the British exchange control drawing gold from these countries in the same manner as it drew on American gold holdings earlier this year. It is asked whether this will not present the gold countries with the alternative of abandoning gold.

Gold valued at 2,199,000 dollars was shipped under licence to Britain to-day as an initial step in the repatriation of some 280,000,000 dollars of earmarked gold acquired during January and February through the operation of the Exchange Equalisation Fund before the suspension of American specie payments in March.

MR. MACDONALD IN NEW YORK.

NEW YORK, April 26.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald arrived here this afternoon. He will address the Pilgrims' Society to-night before sailing by the Brenz for England.

DROP IN STERLING.

A sharp decline was experienced by the pound to-day, the closing rate being 83 cents lower at 3 dollars 79 cents for cables. The decline is attributed by local bankers to Britain's announcement of her intention to use the Exchange Stabilisation Fund to keep currencies down.

The Canadian dollar closed at 86 cents.

S.M. Heard 26 April 1933

USA

WASHINGTON.

Talks Continue.

PRESSING WORLD PROBLEMS.

WASHINGTON, April 24.

For nearly three hours to-night President Roosevelt sought from M. Herriot a preliminary understanding upon the pressing problems of world monetary standards, exchange restrictions, and disarmament. The discussion was upon much the same topics as those talked over with deep satisfaction during the Anglo-American conversations. It is indicated in an authoritative quarter that the questions of disarmament now engaged the attention of delegates at Geneva were dwelt upon at length.

When M. Herriot left the White House, shortly before midnight, he stated that President Roosevelt had laid down a complete programme, including disarmament, world economic stabilisation, and war debts revision.

INFLATION BILL IN SENATE.

The keen debate in the Senate on the Administration's Inflation Bill has tended to overshadow the activities of the visiting statesmen.

The debate reached a climax to-day with the startling assertion by Senator Thomas, the sponsor of the bill, that it would transfer from one class to another class in the United States value to the extent of almost 200,000,000,000 dollars. He amplified his meaning by saying that the debtor class, particularly farmers, would benefit, but at the expense of bondholders and other money-lenders.

An unofficial count of heads in the Senate indicates an overwhelming majority for the bill, but advocates of orthodox monetary principles in both parties are working hard against it.

A prominent Democratic newspaper has openly stated that dissension is growing between Mr. Roosevelt and some of his advisers, mentioning the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Woodin) and Senator Glass as being opposed to inflation. Mr. Roosevelt, however, appears determined to follow his course as outlined.

PEACE MEASURES.

April 25.

The possibility of American agreement to consult with fellow-signatories of the Paris Peace Pact in the event of a threat of war, was increased to-day in the light of developments at the conferences between President Roosevelt and the visiting statesmen.

It was indicated last night that on the question of disarmament, President Roosevelt had possibly already contributed a formula which was receiving sympathetic consideration by the British delegation, and it is hoped that it may be accepted by M. Herriot. There is now talk of hope of agreement at Geneva.

SWITZERLAND'S DECISION.

LONDON, April 25.

A message from Berne says that Switzerland is maintaining the gold standard.

LONDON PRESS COMMENT.

The "Financial News" says: "Without an agreement for the stabilisation of leading currencies, the Economic Conference cannot be expected to achieve anything of value. The only alternative to sterling-dollar stabilisation is competition in devaluation between the two, which would lead to chaos. There is nothing to justify a lower value of the dollar against sterling than about 3 dollars 50 cents to the £. While France and other gold standard countries do not object to a 15 per cent. devaluation of the dollar, we cannot have sterling higher than 3 dollars 50 cents against the dollar, and they certainly will object to the depreciation of sterling in terms of their currencies, which such an arrangement would imply."

S. M. Herald 24 April 1933

USA

WORLD PROBLEMS.

Washington Discussions Begun.

ARRIVAL OF M. HERRIOT AWAITED.

Tariff and Currency Stabilisation Plans.

WASHINGTON, April 22.

The British Prime Minister (Mr. MacDonald) arrived in Washington last night and began his discussions with President Roosevelt.

The conversations were continued this morning, and decisions of the two leaders have been referred to experts for examination.

Mr. MacDonald and President Roosevelt now appear to be awaiting the arrival of M. Herriot to see if his views fit in the general scheme so far drafted.

Although Mr. MacDonald has given a number of assurances that his attitude has not been affected by America's departure from the gold standard, a speech he delivered at the National Press Club is taken to mean that he considers the United States action, at least, over-hasty.

TARIFF AND CURRENCY.

Despite protestations from all quarters of friendly feeling and co-operation, the heated political atmosphere of Washington is not conducive to calm and reasoned decisions.

The conversations between President Roosevelt and Mr. MacDonald and their advisers have been strictly private. The meagre information available represents them as being "amicable," and it is stated that the visitors "are clear of any apparent suspicion that the gold embargo is either retaliatory or solely for bargaining purposes." It is understood that two general proposals are projected. Firstly, it is suggested that currency stabilisation should be achieved through a multilateral treaty, fixing a gold and silver parity. It is suggested that the metallic "coverage" should be reduced, which would be in line with the Administration's inflation tendencies. Secondly, it is proposed that there should be multilateral and bilateral trade agreements, with horizontal tariff cuts in the former and specified reductions on named commodities and raw material in the latter.

As Press reports from France indicate that M. Herriot has been instructed to advocate a general return to the gold standard, it is feared that early differences between him and President Roosevelt and Mr. MacDonald may possibly develop. Meanwhile, the Congressional fight over the Thomas Inflation amendment has been so further intensified that it appears that President Roosevelt could not halt inflation if he desired, and there is no indication of any such desire. To-day, instead of showing any favour to the so-called hard money advocates, he granted a further concession to the radical inflationists. He agreed to an alteration to allow him to fix a definite parity for silver and gold, in any ratio desired, thus virtually assuring the passage of the amendment. Democratic leaders in both Houses are determined on its early enactment. They hold that at least assurance of such action is necessary to the President's plans.

AMERICA'S POLICY.

The position of the United States on most of the outstanding subjects for discussion by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. MacDonald is outlined in well-informed circles as follows:—

(1) War debts. The Administration is definitely committed, by the Democratic platform, against cancellation, but is not committed against postponement or reduction, although such action would require Congressional approval. The Administration has drawn a distinction between the nations which have met their payments, such as Britain, and those which have not, notably France. It regards debts as only one factor in the world economic condition.

(2) Currency stabilisation. This is internationally regarded as fundamental to a revival of world trade. The United States is ready to join in efforts to establish a revised international standard, to which national currencies would be attached at new parities.

(3) Tariffs. The Administration is willing to reduce tariffs on condition that other nations do likewise. It favours a policy of tariff "bargaining" by mutually advantageous reciprocal agreements.

(4) Wheat. An agreement will be sought among the leading wheat-producing nations, to cut production to world consumption and

and the United States since America's abandoning of the gold standard.

He was welcomed in hearty and unceremonious fashion by the President and his family. President Roosevelt greeted his guest with outstretched hand and a friendly smile, and made him welcome at an intimate and informal dinner. Then they settled down to the conversations, out of which both hope will come international currency stabilisation and an end of the ills which beset the commerce of the world.

All ceremonial calls by Mr. MacDonald were called off to-day at the wish of President Roosevelt to give them more time to pursue their discussions. In a joint statement at the conclusion of their discussions, the two leaders said:—"The main problems of the World Economic Conference have been reviewed and decisions reached. These will be referred to experts, who will commence their discussions this afternoon and continue them to-morrow."

ADDRESS TO JOURNALISTS.

In the afternoon, Mr. MacDonald addressed the National Press Club. "If you want to be secure and protected, come to an agreement with other nations," Mr. MacDonald said. "So, on currency, agreement is the only protection." He told of Britain's efforts to preserve the gold standard, and, referring to the United States' departure from gold, said it created a very delicate situation internationally. It could not be helped. No one could be blamed. He urged unity among the nations to meet their common problems. He denied that Britain intended to adopt a retaliatory policy. "Retaliation is repulsive," he said. "Retaliation is to drag conditions down." He urged the completion of agreements and the honouring of them.

Meanwhile, in the Senate, Senator Lewis (Illinois) predicted failure for the economic conference if European Powers insisted upon discussing war debts before international commercial co-operation. He said he understood that Britain and France contemplated that before any concession was made to the United States touching on trade there should first be an understanding of some form of cancellation or revision of debts. "If this is so," he added, "proceedings had best end now, for the American people are in no temper for such threats."

The action of the United States in going off the gold standard was described to-day by the State Department in a telegram to the Embassies in London, Berlin, Paris, and Rome as having for its aim world-wide improvement of commodity prices, and not any special American advantage. The message declared that the United States did not seek to obtain a bargaining weapon in the conversations with Mr. MacDonald and others.

FRANCE AND GOLD.

LONDON, April 22.

The French Minister for Finance (M. Bonnet) declares that France will remain on the gold standard, and hopes that other countries will revert to it at the earliest moment.

avoid heavy surpluses, which have brought down the price.

(5) Silver. The Administration is willing to discuss means of improving the price of silver by international agreement. It would consider bimetallism if all the nations would adopt it.

(6) Disarmament. Heavy expenditures on armies, navies, and air forces are regarded as a drag upon the world while efforts are being made to recover economic equilibrium. Any reasonable movements for reducing armaments or abolishing those designed particularly for aggression, will be supported.

(7) World peace. The Administration is committed, by the Democratic platform, to new provisions for the Pact of Paris to provide for consultation among the signatories in the event of any nation's threat of a breach of its pledge against the use of force in settling international disputes. The Administration is carefully watching public opinion on this point, however, before agreeing to such a consultative plan, which was proposed by Mr. MacDonald at the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

MR. MACDONALD'S STATEMENT.

Mr. MacDonald said, in reply to questions immediately the Berengaria berthed in New York, that his attitude had not been changed by the decision of the United States to abandon the gold standard.

Asked if he was disappointed at President Roosevelt's action, Mr. MacDonald replied, "Oh, gracious, no." He said that he was without information concerning the development, apart from the bare fact that America had for the time being abandoned the gold standard.

"It only brings out in a higher light," he remarked, "the distress of the world, and that is what Mr. Roosevelt and I are trying to face, and I hope we will face it successfully."

Mr. MacDonald added:—"I hope to have with Mr. Roosevelt a frank exchange of views over a wide range of issues, both economic and political, in the short time at our disposal. Definite arrangements, of course, are not to be looked for, as the matters concern other countries, as well as ourselves, but the way must be paved for concerted action, and I believe that our meeting is necessary to that end."

"Your President has invited me, both as the Prime Minister of my country and as chairman of the World Economic Conference, to explore the problems which have to be dealt with at that gathering," added Mr. MacDonald. "I have accepted the invitation, because I believe that we two are in harmony of spirit regarding all the great world causes, and agree with the most pressing of these at the moment, the removal of the economic distress that has befallen us."

AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

On his arrival at the White House at night, Mr. MacDonald immediately commenced discussions with Mr. Roosevelt. He unfolded to Press representatives his hopes for the conference. Asked if war debts would come up at the conference, he said: "This is one of the features of the landscape that must necessarily be surveyed." He added that he did not know about any specific proposal on debts.

Mr. MacDonald repeated his assurance that there was no estrangement between Britain

and France. He said that France is unable to consider a tariff truce until after the World Economic Conference, in regard to which the Deputy Governor of the Bank of France says: "For France to enter the conference with world currencies divorced from gold would be like going to market with a piece of elastic for a tape measure."

An official communique issued in Berlin declares that Germany expects to be allowed to repay in paper dollars her debts contracted in gold, as it would be inequitable for America to demand gold while legislating to reduce the gold value of her own obligations.

STOCK MARKETS.

NEW YORK, April 22.

British currencies followed an irregular price trend to-day, the pound closing at 3.81, one cent higher than yesterday's closing quotation.

The Stock Market resumed briskly. The final tone was strong, many issues being up one to more than four points.

Yesterday trading was somewhat quiet. Commodity markets were hesitant, although further firmness appeared in copper and sugar.

LONDON, April 22.

Sterling on New York was quoted to-day at 3.83½, and sterling on Paris at 88½.

British funds were steadier, with war loan 3½ per cent, stock at 101 13-16. Markets were quieter. Gold dropped 1/1 to 118/ an ounce fine, the lowest price since September 10 last year.

Yesterday the dollar-sterling exchange persisted at 3 dollars 85 cents, but francs on the pound weakened to 89½.

The depreciation of the franc was a disturbing factor, but the quotation improved on a report being received that France was remaining on the gold standard. There was an ominous slide in the Dutch guilder from 8.52½ to 8.88½, which, coupled with the weakness of Belgian currency, suggests, according to the "Daily Telegraph," that the list of countries off gold may shortly be increased.

Holders of Australian dollar bonds are inquiring how America's departure from gold will affect their interest payments. An Australian stockbroking firm in London is informing its clients that the position is practically unchanged, for, although the interest must be paid in gold dollars, it is possible to buy gold freely in the world's markets for these payments. Therefore there appears to be no reason why borrowers should not honour their definite obligations and pay interest in gold dollars of the degree of fineness that was legal at the time the loans were issued.

BRITISH PRESS COMMENT.

LONDON, April 22.

English newspapers, in further comments on the American currency developments, are generally agreed that the measure resulted from the domestic situation, but they consider that for the time being at least it must have an unsettling effect upon world's markets.

Sir Walter Layton, the eminent economist, in a message to the "News Chronicle" from America, takes the line that, although it shifts the basis of international negotiations, it was certainly not planned to force Mr. MacDonald's hand, and must be fitted into the international plan.

P. M. Herald 14-4-33

USA

MR. MACDONALD.

WASHINGTON VISIT.

War Debt Problem.

(British Official Wireless.)

LONDON, April 13.

The Prime Minister (Mr. MacDonald) told the House of Commons to-day that when in the United States he would discuss with President Roosevelt war debts, wholesale price levels, and disarmament. Both Governments, said Mr. MacDonald, were agreed that there should be a preliminary and candid examination of the war debts situation, the settlement of which would be one of the greatest blessings to the present generation. An instalment of the debt payment became due on June 15, and before then there would have to be a personal and candid examination, for it was not going to be merely a matter of experts. No provisional agreement, however subject to acceptance of the Cabinet, would be entered into as a result of his Washington visit. There would merely be exchanges of views.

Mr. MacDonald added that he would take the opportunity to speak to Mr. Roosevelt as president of the International Economic Conference. No great success could result from that conference, he said, unless part of the obstructions raised in the way of international trade were removed. He wanted to get co-operation of the most cordial character, and if he could do that he thought his mission would be successful.

TRADE AGREEMENTS.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S PLAN.

The Washington correspondent of the "New York Times" says:—"President Roosevelt's request for the broadest possible authority in negotiating international trade agreements, similar in character to the 'dictatorial' powers he has used in meeting the domestic emergency will be sent to Congress in the next few days. The major outline of the measure has been completed and details are expected to be sufficiently agreed to for the President to write a special message to Congress.

"Tariff experts, Congress leaders, and State and Commerce Department officials have all been busy on the project, which Mr. Roosevelt desires to be enacted before the representatives of the 42 nations gather here for discussions preliminary to the World Economic Conference in London.

"President Roosevelt under the bill will seek the following powers: (1) Sole authority to change the existing tariff rates by Executive proclamation, subject only to submitting changes in the report to Congress; and (2) power for negotiating a multilateral treaty at the World Economic Conference, whereby all tariff duties would be decreased horizontally."

UBA

ECONOMICS.

WASHINGTON PARLEY.

Mr. MacDonald's Mission.

PAVING THE WAY.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.)

LONDON, April 12.

Opinion in England regarding Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's visit to Washington is sharply divided. One section is condemning his journey as a mere waste of time, and is dubbing the British Prime Minister "Our Wandering Boy." Other opinion supports the visit as a venture likely to lead to closer economic and political understanding between the United States and Britain.

Mr. MacDonald is not taking any member of the Cabinet with him, but he will be accompanied by an adequate party of technical advisers, including Sir Robert Vansittart, Permanent Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office; Sir Fredk. Leith-Ross, Chief Economic Adviser to the Government; Mr. A. E. Overton, of the Board of Trade; and Mr. Barlow, principal private secretary.

Whatever topic may arise, whether affecting European politics, tariff bargains, the gold standard, and currency problems, or war debts, there will be an expert available to handle it. This is in keeping with the expressed wish, on both sides of the water, that no subject at issue should be left without mention, and that there should not be any atmosphere of reserve in the proceedings.

TARIFF PROBLEM.

It is felt that, although it is not a question of signing any agreement, but merely one of paving the way to international co-operation, much may result from such discussions if they are conducted with frankness and sympathy. It is taken for granted here that America is not going to insist upon sterling being treated as the basest currency, but it is also accepted that Britain will be called upon to trade in tariffs, which, on account of the Ottawa Conference agreements, will be most difficult. Indeed, there is a widespread conviction that tariffs will be almost exclusively debated, for on the presumption that a plan for co-operative fiscal reduction can be drafted, the President of the United States (Mr. Roosevelt) could then approach Congress for a war debt moratorium. This moratorium would logically be followed by the World Economic Conference, and later by a permanent scheme of war debt revision. All this, it is felt, may appear Utopian in present world circumstances, but it is regarded as at least a practical objective.

"GLORIOUS GAMBLE."

In essence, the Washington meeting itself is regarded as nothing more than a gamble, but "a glorious one, and worth the risk."

It is now certain that Mr. Roosevelt will meet the delegations separately, the British party first, and the French, Italian, and other delegations afterwards. A general conference may follow, although this is most unlikely so far as Mr. MacDonald is concerned. It is stated in responsible quarters that his chief desire is to secure a common viewpoint on certain broad principles before the World Conference assembles. He wishes it made clear whether that conference is to seek agreement

on a nationalist economic policy of high protection, or upon a low-tariff policy for securing large volumes of international trade, which latter is the British policy. Although he realises that a general agreement on the basis of simple formulae is probably out of the question, he is not without hope that sufficient will be accomplished at Washington to indicate just how far along the path of tariff reductions the nations are prepared to travel. To that extent he is setting out on a voyage of discovery.

EXCHANGES AND DISARMAMENT.

It is understood that the British Prime Minister will extend the scope of his discussion with the President to exchanges on the questions of disarmament, subsidies to shipping, and reciprocal trade treaties, but that there will not be any direct reference to war debts as such.

It is felt in London that a moratorium covering the June instalment of the debt payment will be conceded as a matter of course although there is some doubt whether this concession will be hedged around with difficult conditions.

Mr. MacDonald hopes to return from New York on April 26. He intends, during his visit to America, to avoid all private engagements, except attendance at a reception in his honour that has been arranged by the British Ambassador. He will be accompanied on his tour by Miss Ishbel MacDonald.

MAJOR SUBJECTS.

(Copyright.—Australian Press Association.)

The political correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" says: "No topics will be barred from the Roosevelt-MacDonald conversations—not even the Ottawa agreements, which the Prime Minister is prepared to explain and defend. The major subjects will be finance, economic relations, debts, disarmament, and the general situation in Europe, in regard to which the aim of the British Government is to prevent an alignment of nations into two camps."

"Mr. Roosevelt's invitation to Mr. MacDonald closed with the words, 'Do come and spend the week-end with me. I am sure that in the week-end we can do more for good than has been done for a long time. There will be no attempt to make agreements, but Mr. MacDonald hopes to reach an understanding with a view to closer co-operation between the two countries.'"

Mr. A. E. Overton, of the Board of Trade, Sir Robert Vansittart, Permanent Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office, and Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, the Chief Economic Adviser to the Government, will accompany Mr. MacDonald to Washington.

MORE INVITATIONS TO THE NATIONS.

WASHINGTON, April 12.

The State Department announced to-day that Notes had been sent to all nations having diplomatic missions in Washington, which had not been invited to send special representatives to take part in the forthcoming conversations, inviting them to exchange views through diplomatic channels.

This action followed reports of dissatisfaction among some countries, which were not among the eleven chosen for special invitations. The Notes were sent to 44 diplomatic missions in Washington, inviting their nations to exchange views on the broad aspects of the general Economic Conference and armaments limitation. Each of these Notes was accompanied by a personal Note from the Secretary of State (Mr. Cordell Hull), referring to the apparent impossibility of all nations sending special representatives because of lack of time.

Japan has formally accepted the invitation to send a leading statesman to take part in the conversations.

"The Herald" Melbourne

12-4-33

USA

PACIFYING EUROPE

Britain And U.S. Should Unite

MR MACDONALD'S BELIEF

Herald Special Representative
LONDON, Tuesday.

THE Prime Minister (Mr Ramsay MacDonald) believes that it is imperative that Great Britain and the United States should unite in calming Europe. Otherwise the European position, already grave, will soon become desperate.

He will urge this view upon President Roosevelt during his visit to Washington which will begin next week. He will seek to obtain an understanding with Mr Roosevelt on the European problem.

Ottawa to be Discussed

Mr MacDonald expects that the Ottawa agreements, of the ultimate success of which he is convinced, will be discussed, and he will be prepared to justify them. The Dominions will be kept informed of the progress of the conversations.

International exchange will be discussed, for the British Government believes that world prosperity depends upon freeing exchanges.

Seeking to prevent waste of time at the World Economic Conference, Mr MacDonald will ask President Roosevelt for his views of tariffs and whether at the conference the United States will want an agreement on a high protective policy, or will aim to promote national well-being by large international trade. Great Britain advocates the latter course.

Mr MacDonald desires that politicians and not experts shall control the Economic Conference, although experts will attend it in an advisory capacity.

Britain and Gold

British Official Wireless

Asked in the House of Commons for an assurance that before the Government was committed to any steps designed to secure the early return of Great Britain to the gold standard an opportunity would be given for a discussion on the subject by the House, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr Chamberlain) said today that the House was well aware of the general policy of the Government on this question. That policy would not be changed without ample opportunity for discussion.

When asked whether the considerable increase in the stock of gold had anything to do with the Government's policy the Chancellor replied in the negative.

The President of the Board of Trade (Mr Runciman) said that he hoped to make a statement very shortly on the progress of the trade negotiations now proceeding in various countries.

TARIFFS AND LIVING STANDARDS

U.S. Minister Derides Protection Theory

The Herald Cable Service

WASHINGTON, Tuesday.
THE Secretary of State (Mr Hull) today described as "antiquated, obsolete and bewhiskered" the theory that the moderation of its tariffs would flood the United States with the products of cheap foreign labor, and drive down the American standard of living.

Persons who talked about foreign cheap labor throwing American workmen out of employment, he said, should debate the question with the 13 million American wage-earners who had been thrown out of employment during the operation of the highest tariffs in American history.

The whole basis of trade among nations was the mutually profitable exchange of goods.

"The Roosevelt Administration does not contemplate the destruction of any sound industry," Mr Hull said. "The new tariff policy will put American business on a healthier and more prosperous basis than before."

HERALD MELBOURNE

28 MAR 1933

VSA

ANGLO-AMERICAN DISCUSSION

"Valuable Talks"

The Herald Cable Service

WASHINGTON, Monday.
THE Anglo-American discussions of world economic problems were resumed today at the State department, when it was considered that the question of war debts would occupy considerable attention.

Following the conference between the Secretary of State (Senator Hull) and the British Ambassador (Sir Ronald Lindsay), a communique was issued which stated that they had continued the economic discussions and felt gratified with the value of these talks.

President Roosevelt discussed today the pending World Economic Conference with the French Ambassador (M. Claudel), who urged that it be held as soon as possible.

USA

DEBT PARLEY OPENS IN WASHINGTON

U.S Bargaining Anticipated

TARIFF REMOVAL

The Herald Cable Service

WASHINGTON, Friday.

The Anglo-American war debt discussions were formally begun today when the British Ambassador (Sir Ronald Lindsay) had a long conference with the Secretary of State (Senator Hull).

Senator Hull said afterward that no decisions tentative or otherwise, had been reached, and the conversations had been "merely exploratory."

The discussions, he said, covered the broad aspects of international commercial relations which would come up at the World Economic Conference, as well as in the debt conversations.

It was recently announced at White House that President Roosevelt had no intention of asking Congress for authority to defer foreign debt payments, and he expects them to be met when they fall due.

It is understood that the position taken up by Senator Hull today was that the big problem facing the world was the removal of excessively high tariffs and other restrictions on the movement of goods, exchange and money.

TRADE AGREEMENTS

The United States Government will emphasise this when war debts are discussed. The implication is that if the United States is satisfied that her debtors are willing to pledge themselves in general to the success of the Economic Conference by reducing trade barriers, the United States will be ready to consider their pleas for a revision of debts.

Another factor is the possibility of negotiating reciprocal trade agreements.

Senator Hull said today that if it were possible to make arrangements which would be mutually beneficial to each country, there would be no controversy about reaching adjustments.

This is taken to mean that if satisfactory agreements can be made, for instance, with Britain, making a tangible contribution to the success of the Economic Conference, the United States would feel that she would be the gainer, even if she lost some of the actual income which she now receives in the form of debt payments.

TIME NOW RIPE FOR CONFERENCE

The Herald Cable Service

LONDON, Friday. — The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr Chamberlain), in a speech at Birmingham today, referred to the efforts to expedite the Economic Conference.

He said that the conditions for an agreement were better now than at any time since the conclusion of the war.

5 MAY 1933

USA

CO-OPERATION.

WORLD PROBLEMS.

Britain and America.

MR. MACDONALD'S SPEECH.

(British Official Wireless.)

LONDON, May 4.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) made a statement in the House of Commons to-day upon his recent conversations in Washington with President Roosevelt.

He explained that the object of the conversations was not to reach definite agreements, but to ascertain by intimate discussion what the prospects were of co-operation respecting world problems. As a result, the mutual understanding between Britain and the United States had been considerably improved.

Regarding the proposal to maintain a tariff truce during the sittings of the World Economic Conference, Mr. MacDonald said he had emphasised that Britain would have to be safeguarded.

Replying to a question, Mr. MacDonald said that the subject of war debts would not be discussed at the World Conference.

Mr. MacDonald said that he had been anxious first of all to ascertain President Roosevelt's views on the calling of the International Economic Conference, and, finding that they were agreed, and that subsequently the French delegate (M. Herriot) shared their opinion, they communicated with the organising committee, and June 12 had been fixed for the meeting of the conference in London.

"We discussed in some detail the subjects to be brought up at the World Economic Conference," said Mr. MacDonald. "These included the questions of tariffs, quotas, exchange control, and the stability of international currency. Our purpose was to ascertain by intimate discussion what the prospects were of co-operation, and not to come to definite agreements.

"We both shared the view that our respective countries should enter the conference, which is now to meet so soon, with their hands completely united. The results of these exchanges of views and an examination of the problems is most encouraging.

"In view of the controversy which had arisen with reference to the suggestion of a tariff truce during the sittings of the World Conference, I felt it my duty to point out how different is the position of a country like our own from that of those which are already high-tariff countries, with policies and economic defences already fully worked out and in operation.

"I took the opportunity of putting before President Roosevelt a full account of Britain's broad policy of disarmament, and, as a result of our discussions, we reached common views, which have been reflected in effective co-operation between the British and American delegates in support of the draft convention now before the Disarmament Conference at Geneva.

TARIFF PROBLEMS.

"We also discussed the question of duties, and frankly examined the problem in all its aspects.

"These exchanges of views were of particular importance, as they brought out in well-defined detail all the differences which had to be reconciled, not only in a final settlement, but in the immediate handling of the question.

"While I welcomed the idea of a truce during the period of the conference, I made it plain that its application would have to be subject to safeguards, which these differences in our positions required. This was considered to be reasonable.

"On this subject I can make no further statement at present, as the matter has necessarily not yet reached the stage of agreement.

"As for my visit to Washington as a whole, while I wish to convey no exaggerated impression, I would say with confidence that the mutual understanding between ourselves and the American Government has been materially improved by the discussions which I have had with President Roosevelt, for whose friendly hospitality and unreserved helpfulness throughout all our deliberations the warmest thanks of the British Government are due."

REPLIES TO QUESTIONS.

The Washington conversations and the German questions will be debated in the House of Commons next Tuesday. Mr. MacDonald undertook to answer, as far as possible, any questions which may then be put to him.

(Copyright.—Australian Press Association.)

The leader of the Opposition (Mr. George Lansbury) said it was an extraordinary procedure that the demand for more information should be met by suggestions that members should put questions. Nobody inside or outside the House had the least idea what proposals the Government intended to make at the World Conference. The House had a right to know this before the conference opened, he declared.

FRENCH DEBT.

Speaking in the French Senate, the Minister for Foreign Affairs (M. Paul-Boncour) said that the visit of the Special Envoy (M. Herriot) to America had doubtless helped to clear the atmosphere. A satisfactory settlement should be reached. France was anxious to know whether she would be granted a moratorium. She had not invoked the clauses of the Mellon-Berenger agreement, permitting her to demand a moratorium in respect of half the capital payment due on June 15 next, provided that 90 days' notice was given, because she felt that the debts question should be treated as a whole.

FEELING IN U.S.A.

ELEMENT OF UNCERTAINTY.

WASHINGTON, May 4.

A strong element of uncertainty has been injected into the plans for international economic correctives as the result of several developments in the past day or two.

It is unquestionable that to-day's debate in the British House of Commons, expressing strong dissatisfaction with the American attitude on tariffs and debts, and the failure to meet the contract to pay the interest on Government obligations in gold, has created a very strong impression here, and has contributed markedly to the element of uncertainty, curiously enough by indicating to Americans that the British are not quite convinced that the United States was actuated only by "intelligent self-interest" in the recent tentative economic proposals. Officials were not unmindful of the explosion in London financial circles yesterday, and they are seriously disturbed by the comment in the House of Commons to-day.

The State Department, apart from indicating that no official protest had been received from Britain relative to the failure of British holders of American Government securities to receive gold, would not comment on the situation. No adequate defence of this step has been offered, and it is plain that there is a strong feeling of discomfort over this partial repudiation.

HOARDING OF GOLD.

It is obvious that far from all the complications arising from the sudden departure of the United States from the gold standard were foreseen here. The authorities are puzzled as to how they could differentiate between domestic and foreign holders of United States securities. The whole gold problem, and particularly the domestic phases of it, are giving the authorities much anxiety.

The Department of Justice announced to-night that common sense precluded the enforcement of the Presidential proclamation relative to gold hoarding against small holders. The Government's right to demand the return of gold has been challenged, and a test case is being planned.

The question of foreign holders of gold in the United States has also arisen, and the Attorney-General (Mr. Homer S. Cummings) explained that some gold held in trust for foreigners might be retained, while other such holdings face the possibility of proceedings by civil process in order to obtain their return. The situation is full of troublous aspects.

TRUCE MAY BE POSTPONED.

It is mooted here that the Administration is "keenly disappointed over the events in London," especially the failure of the British Government thus far to accept President Roosevelt's proposed "tariff truce." The point of the matter is, however, that no nation has accepted the truce proposal unconditionally, France going so far as to attach three conditions, the principal one being the right to adjust Customs duties to the decline of the dollar value.

It is recognised that the continuing fluctuation of the value of the dollar makes more than a conditional acceptance of the truce by Britain impossible, and that Britain at the present time is engaged in important trade negotiations with several countries.

It is now indicated that the truce will have to wait until after the inauguration of the London Conference. In the meantime, various international experts in conference here cannot reach agreement regarding war debts, the pound, dollar, franc stabilisation, and other world problems.

Copy of despatch No. 508 from the British Embassy,
Washington, dated 30th March, 1933.

The discussions on economic questions with the United States Administration referred to were continued at the State Department on the morning of March 29th.

2. The question of an international agreement to restrict production of wheat was first raised by the Secretary of State. The United States authorities regarded such an agreement between the major exporting countries as a necessity if the present policy of the importing countries to restrict their imports continued. The United States could not solve the problem alone, since even if she could restrict production to her domestic requirements, which was in fact problematical, this would not in present conditions be enough to bring about any substantial rise in wheat prices. An agreement between the four great wheat exporting countries, Canada, Australia, Argentina and the United States of America, would certainly be necessary, and Mr. Hull doubted whether even this could be made effective unless the Balkans and Russia could be brought in. Russia might not perhaps in any event be able to export any substantial amounts of wheat in the near future, but it was feared that a material rise in the price level might bring about a large increase of acreage in South-Eastern Europe. European countries might perhaps be induced to refrain from pushing to excess their costly policies of self-sufficiency in wheat growing if they had inducements in the opening up of foreign markets for the commodities which they were more advantageously situated to produce.

3. Mr. Hull went on to enquire about the operation of the wheat bonus in Great Britain and its effect on the importation of wheat. We gave him some information regarding the measures in force in Great Britain and added that His Majesty's Government were in agreement on the necessity of raising the world price of wheat as part of a general rise in the level of commodity prices, and would no doubt be prepared to give special and sympathetic consideration to the problems of both regulation of supplies and increase of consumption. However, as the United Kingdom acreage had been reduced by one-third during the ten years from 1920 to 1930 and, according to reports, had only been increased last year by the trivial amount of 91,000 acres, we should hardly be regarded as directly concerned in the proposed restriction agreement. Mr. Hull did not demur to this but suggested that Canadian representatives should be invited to be present at a further discussion on wheat at a later date. Though I should not have proposed a tripartite discussion myself, I did not feel able to object to this proposal when it was pressed both by Mr. Hull and by Mr. Moley.

4. Mr. Hull then spoke at length on tariff policy and the trend of all countries to extreme economic nationalism. He wondered whether the nations had yet suffered sufficiently to make them willing to relax the excessive tariff barriers and other restrictions even worse than tariffs which were throttling trade. He thought that there were three lines of action along which progress should be attempted. These were:

/(1)

- (1) the development of new markets; in this connection he referred particularly to the great effect that would be brought about by even a small increase in the standard of living and purchasing power of the large populations of the Asiatic countries.
- (11) the acceptance of the principle that only efficient and nationally advantageous industries should be fostered by protective tariffs. This would mean the lowering or abolition of those tariffs in the first place which were imposed with the idea of bringing about national self-sufficiency by promoting the growth of industries not naturally suited to the country.
- (111) as a later step would come the all-round reduction of tariffs.

5. Mr. Hull went on to say that it would not be enough to reach paper agreements at the World Economic Conference; it would be necessary to make arrangements which would ensure that the agreements reached were in fact put into operation by the Governments concerned.

6. We found no difficulty in expressing cordial agreement with Mr. Hull's views generally and mentioned that the Prime Minister had repeatedly announced that it was the policy of His Majesty's Government to seek the lowering of tariff barriers. I expressed the view that restriction of production was only a palliative, justified, if at all, as a temporary measure to meet an abnormal situation, and that the real remedy lay in expansion of trade and consumption. We thought it fitting at this point, however, to refer to the effects on world economy of the efforts of the United States to maintain her position both as a creditor country and as a country with an export surplus. This produced a profound disequilibrium in the world and forced the introduction of restrictions and the lowering of prices by other countries. Mr. Moley admitted that the policies of the Hoover administration had been anomalous in this respect; he did not think that any early resumption of large scale American foreign lending could be anticipated, and perhaps implied, though he certainly did not explicitly admit, that the American export surplus would have to be reduced by increased purchases from abroad.

7. Professor Moley remarked that the straightforward reduction of tariffs was not easy to get accepted by public opinion and that in any case tariff reduction could be counteracted by monetary manipulation in foreign countries. The same sort of effect as that obtained by tariff reduction might be reached by monetary action, and from the point of view of public opinion it might be easiest to approach the problem from this point of view first. Exactly what Mr. Moley had in mind in these remarks was not explained owing to lack of time, and this aspect of the matter will be further discussed at a later meeting.

8. During the course of discussion Mr. Hull delicately, but with evident intention, and with the Ottawa agreements in view, voiced disapproval of the extension of special preferences "between great autonomous countries" and later asked indirectly whether the future tariff policy of His Majesty's Government would be based on unconditional most-favoured-nation treatment.

/As

As he continued to talk on other aspects of tariffs there was no need for me to make any observations on these two.

9. Finally Mr. Hull emphasized the ignorance of public opinion on tariff and economic relations existing in all countries and particularly in the United States. Public opinion had to be enlightened and in this country it had to prod the spineless politicians.

.....

SECRET

U.S.A.

L.L.O. Note - 10. 2.33.

Discriminatory Duty on United Kingdom Coal.

In an earlier L.L.O. Note it was stated that, pending a ruling by the Attorney-General of the United States, the United States Treasury decision of the 19th November would remain in force, and that consequently coal from the United Kingdom would enter the United States free of the duty of 10 cents per 100 lbs. imposed on coal imported from countries which export more coal to the United States than they import from that country. On the 30th December the ruling of the Attorney-General was published and was to the effect that the Treasury decision of the 19th November was invalid for technical reasons, and that a decision of the United States courts on the applicability of the relevant treaty clauses should be awaited. The levy of duty on coal from Great Britain and Germany was thereupon resumed by Treasury order. The Attorney-General's ruling explained that "the ultimate objective is to ascertain the intention of Congress, and that on the other hand violation of international obligations is to be avoided if possible".

Steps have accordingly been taken by the British and German interests concerned to bring concurrent actions in the United States courts with a view to testing the legal position. The German Ambassador at Washington has been instructed to protest vigorously against the ruling of the United States Attorney-General and on the 10th January Sir R. Lindsay addressed to the United States Secretary of State a note protesting against the denial of the rights to which His Majesty's Government are entitled under their commercial convention of 1815.

173
No. *173-11*

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

Subject: *United States* PART 2
Relations with Great Britain
General
Jan.
1930-1942.

*War Records file - NAA did for Great
Britain*

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

ACM.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 1280.

CE 84/117.

Sent on 10th January, 1942.

6.25. p.m.

Received 11th January, 1942.

DECYPHER FROM --

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Circular D.17. SECRET. Following for the
Prime Minister:-

Anglo-United States co-operation as regards
Latin America.

We consider that the most useful contribution
to the Rio Conference would be to inform the State Department
what we think might conveniently be aimed at or avoided at the
Conference, and ourselves, to refrain from doing anything which
we or the United States think might preclude any Latin American
State from acting as we both should wish.

Our desiderata include :-

- (a) Cessation of all trade with the enemy and
maximum participation in economic warfare.
- (b) Adequate control of enemy nationals, funds
and property.
- (c) Effective steps against local fifth columns
including Axis-minded officials and members of Axis
communities possessing local nationality.
- (d) Adoption of adequate defence (including
anti-sabotage) measures and satisfactory participation
in American defence.

We should for example, hope that Argentina and
Chile would ensure by the use of their navies and by aircraft
patrols that the enemy would be prevented from using their
territorial waters and more remote parts of the coast as supply
bases.

(e) Benevolent treatment of non-American
Allies of the United States by those states remaining
non-belligerent. We doubt the advantage of any formal
resolution at the Conference advocating special
facilities for Allied warships, since this might provoke
Axis retaliation against South American trade and even
territory, and might expose us to demands for naval
protection and supply of aircraft, anti-aircraft guns
and coastal defence guns.

(f) Suppression of enemy propaganda and grant
of facilities to the Allied cause by Press, radio and
film.

His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has been
instructed to explain our ideas to the State Department and to
re-emphasise our anxiety to help. At the same time, he has been
instructed to leave Mr. Welles in no doubt that we would not of
course accept decisions by the Conference which involved alteration
in the present status of any British possessions in the Western
Hemisphere.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

2.

I. 1280.

Apart from questions likely to arise at the Rio Conference we are endeavouring to extend United States co-operation with us in such matters as the furtherance of propaganda in Latin America.

War Cabinet & War Advisory Council.
Defence Co-ord.
E. A.

12.1.42.

U.S.A. - U.K.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I.1198

Ce 41

Dated - 10th January, 1942

10.3 a.m.

Recd. - 11th January, 1942.

DECYPHER FROM:

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

SECRET

Circular D.16. SECRET.

My Circular D.704 of 23rd November.

The United States Authorities have accepted our offer of D.E.M.S. repair facilities to United States ships and work will be carried out free of charge.

Copy - War Cabinet
Defence
Navy
E.A.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

Referred

11/1/42.

Handwritten notes:
11/1/42. *See Circular D.704*
See Circular D.704
See Circular D.704

Handwritten signature: *Secretary.*

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

12

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 28297.

CE 44/113.

Sent on 16th December, 1941.

2.15. p.m.

Received 17th December, 1941.

DECYPHER FROM -

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

IMPORTANT. CIRCULAR M.450. SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister:-

In view of the entry of the United States in the war, it has been suggested to them that a public announcement should be made forthwith of the establishment of a joint staff mission in Washington and a United States Military mission in London as accredited representatives of their respective chiefs of staff. It will be remembered that in accordance with the recommendations of the Washington staff conversations, the nucleus of military mission were established in both capitals, but that in each case it was considered necessary that the Missions should operate under cover so long as the United States were not in the war.

The United States Government have agreed and an announcement to the above effect is likely to be made in the very near future. The matter should of course be kept secret until publication.

War Cabinet.
DDefence.
E. A.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

17.12.41.
National Archives of Australia

Received 17.12.41, ON 17.12.41
PART 2

NSA-WK

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 24972

CE 20

DECIPHER FROM -
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

CIRCULAR D. 704.

SECRET.

As a result of recent amendments to the Neutrality Act, the British Admiralty Delegation at Washington has been instructed by the Admiralty in a signal of November 20th, which has been repeated to the Commonwealth Navy Board, to offer D.E.M.S. repair facilities to United States ships at United Kingdom and colonial ports and to ascertain if there is any other manner in which we can assist United States merchant ship-arming programme.

Dominion Governments may like to consider making similar communication to the United States Government.

Copy - Service Ministers
Defence Co-Ord.
E.A. & Minister
Navy

24.11.41

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

Referred.

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

RECEIVED 24th November 1941
DATED 23rd November 1941
1845
RECD 26 NOV 1941
CE 20

SECRET

K

[Signature]

Secretary

*File in Records*B.P.S. REPORT NO. 449 - 1941
New York - July 12th.

LORD HALIFAX'S RETURN TO LONDON

(Survey of American Press)



The first reference to the possibility of Lord Halifax's return to London appeared in *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* of July 6th. An undated message in Italian reported that the English radio, heard in New York, was saying that Reuters had announced that Lord Halifax would probably return to England for a few weeks to present a complete report to the Government.

On July 10th the *News Chronicle*'s prediction that Lord Halifax would be replaced as Ambassador and would return to a post in the British War Cabinet was taken up by dispatches of the United Press and Associated Press from London. The United Press version reported that the diplomatic correspondent of the *News Chronicle* had said that some prominent Americans believed Lord Halifax was hampered in his duties as Ambassador because he was linked with the British Munich and Spanish Civil War policy and quoted an authoritative informant as saying that no decision had been made regarding Halifax's future plans. The Associated Press quoted in addition an authoritative source which had called the story a "stab in the dark" and had said that there was nothing to indicate that the Ambassador would not return to Washington.

The *Baltimore Sun* (July 11th) and *Washington Post* (July 10th) attended to these dispatches from London with a comment by an official spokesman of the British Embassy in Washington that:

"This is merely speculative comment by a British newspaper whose political views are independent and often not in accord with the established policies of His Majesty's Government.

"We have, of course, no confirmation of the suggestion in the message."

The *Washington Times-Herald* (July 10th) in reproducing the United Press dispatch from London and reporting the British Embassy spokesman, noted that the latter had "not denied the report regarding Lord Halifax."

On July 11th, a United Press dispatch from Washington, dated July 10th, appeared in the *New York Times* and others. This was headlined "Halifax to Visit London - Casts Doubt on Report He Will Quit as Envoy to Re-enter Cabinet." This dispatch stated that Viscount Halifax hoped to be able to return to London for a visit of two or three weeks sometime next month. He said that as far as he knew he would not remain in London. Lord Halifax's comparison of his visit to that of John Winant to America was noted.

The above references have not been prominently displayed except on the frontpage of the *New York Sun* and *Miami News* of July 10th.

THE BRITISH PRESS SERVICE, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City.
July 12, 1941.

L O R D H A L I F A X

May 15th to June 20th

(Survey of American Press)

There was a distinct decrease in the publicity extended to Lord Halifax for several weeks after the completion of his Middle-West tour in May. Towards the end of June, however, the Ambassador's presence at a series of college Commencement exercises attracted considerable attention. Little editorial discussion was evoked during this period; and although a slight rise in caustic comment was discernible, this was confined to papers which had already expressed themselves as being unsympathetic to the Halifax appointment.

COMMENT

There were three editorial references to the Ambassador's address at Columbia University on June 3rd. The New York Times (June 4th) in observing that Lord Halifax's speech followed the same lines as President Butler's, stated that "he looks calmly beyond the darkness. What price is too high to pay for freedom?" The Washington Post (June 6th) commended the speech as calculated to "undo the impression created in this country by Mr. Eden's statement of war aims." The drawing of a distinction between Hitlerism and Germany was welcomed as showing a truer understanding than did Eden of "the foundation of the moral order." The Daily Worker (June 8th) scoffed at the conferring of a degree by Columbia upon "Lord Halifax, Munichman and crony of Adolph Hitler."

There were two conspicuously unfavourable editorials. One, in the Detroit Times, headed "Offensive Lord Halifax", declared (May 14th) that the Ambassador under the guise of his Mid-West tour was making an inexcusable attempt to involve the United States in the war. These activities were stigmatized as "an abuse of the courtesy of the American people, a challenge to their right of independent thought and action." Lord Halifax, the paper concluded, "like Lord Sackville should be recalled or expelled, and would be if the country had the same kind of self-respecting American Government that it had in Cleveland's time." The New York Daily Mirror (June 2nd) and the Los Angeles Times (June 12th) both carried the same sarcastic references to the Ambassador's statements regarding the Crete defeat. Under the heading, "Admiral-General Halifax Misinterprets Crete", the Daily Mirror observed: "The deductions of Lord Halifax recall this comment by an eminent countryman of the Ambassador's: 'Perhaps it is true that Lord Halifax does enjoy the privilege of a daily conference with the Almighty - but isn't it strange that his Lordship comes out of these conferences so consistently ill-advised?'" Exception was taken to the Halifax declaration that "Crete has shown the military experts of the world the difficulty of parachutist landings upon an island", and the editorial extended itself into a vehement defence of Ireland's attitude - on the basis that Eire would suffer the same fate as Crete once she permitted

herself....

herself to be used by Britain without adequate arms with which to defend herself.

There was one reference, in the New York Post (May 27th) to Senator Wheeler's accusation that Lord Halifax was as great a menace to America as Dr. Rieth. "Senator Wheeler Does Not See" was the heading, and the gist, of the comment.

NEWS PRESENTATION

On May 28th the Chicago Tribune and the New York Times noted that Lord Halifax, accompanied by John Maynard Keynes, had lunched with the President. The subject of discussion was revealed by Mr. Keynes to have been "the problem of increasing American production of armaments." In both accounts the Ambassador was quoted as saying (in reply to the suggestion that certain despatches from London had indicated some disappointment in Britain over Mr. Roosevelt's fireside chat): "I thought the President was pretty specific as to his determination that the stuff (war materials) get there, and as to his instruction to the technical departments to take measures to see that it gets there, and in emphasizing that these things are not only being talked about but that things are being done."

On May 29th a U.P. despatch reported that the Ambassador, in his second formal press conference since coming to this country, specifically repudiated peace rumours, and asserted that the speed and amount of United States' aid to Britain would determine the length of the present conflict.

On May 24th Wilfred Fleisher in the New York Herald Tribune reported that Lord Halifax had called upon Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles, and was understood to "have discussed with him the situation in North America as it may be affected by the agreement now being worked out between the Vichy Government and Germany." On June 7th a U.P. despatch announced that the Ambassador had again conferred with Mr. Welles on the tense situation growing out of Franco-German collaboration.

Lord Halifax's address at Columbia University on June 3rd was well noted in the New York press, and received brief mention in out-of-town papers through an A.P. despatch. Anglo-American cooperation, and the fact that Britain's primary war aim was the defeat of Hitlerism, were equally stressed; and all accounts quoted the Ambassador's declaration that "I hope that the best minds both here and in the British Commonwealth may find means of working closely together over this whole field. For one thing is sure. There is little hope for the world's future unless your people and ours can join hands to build it."

On June 13th U.P. and A.P. despatches reported briefly that the Ambassador had spoken at Richmond, Virginia, at the shrine of Patrick Henry. His reference to the fact that Henry's words "Give me liberty or give me death" represented the keynote of the present British struggle was noted.

On June 8th an A.P. despatch quoted the Christian Science Monitor as saying that Lord Halifax was expected to attend the Harvard Commencement Day exercises, possibly in company with the President.

On June 17th Washington papers reported the Ambassador's speech before the Federal Bar Association in the capital. The reference to India was particularly noted; and the Washington Evening Star observed that although "he did not indicate whether the British Government would ever withdraw completely from that country ... he

made it plain that there was no 'lack of will' on the part of Britain to effect such a federation (the United States of India) as soon as possible."

An A.P. despatch on June 18th, in reporting the conferring of an honorary degree upon Lord Halifax by Yale University, referred to the fact that the Ambassador was hailed, in the citation, as "the man who as Viceroy of India won the respect and admiration of Mahatma Gandhi." The New York Times observed that Lord Halifax, in speaking before the alumni luncheon, expressed the opinion that the American contribution to victory would be overwhelming "within a comparatively short time ... providing you can and will pull together for one end, and provided means can be found to secure that the product of your factories does in fact reach the hands on the other side that are stretched out to receive it."

The opening by the Ambassador of the exhibition of "Britain At War" art in the Museum of Modern Art in New York on May 23rd; and the presence of Lord and Lady Halifax at a Pontifical Mass for Great Britain at St. Patrick's Cathedral on June 5th, received some publicity in the New York press.

A number of papers reproduced the James Montgomery Flagg portrait of the Ambassador, with the artist's comment that Lord Halifax looked like "a composite of Fred Astaire and Sinclair Lewis, with a dash of Socrates."

On May 26th the New York Herald Tribune, under the heading "Wheeler Wants Rieth Expelled, Halifax Too", reported the leader of the Senate isolationist bloc as saying that he believed Dr. Rieth was no more of a menace to America than was Viscount Halifax. "He can't," the Senator was quoted as declaring, "be any more dangerous than Halifax or the others now trying so hard to get us into war." On May 31st an A.P. despatch reported that Wheeler, at a Washington rally sponsored by the National anti-war congress, had stated that "I was denouncing Hitler when Halifax was shooting boar with Goering."

HARVARD COMMENCEMENT

On June 19th the conferring of a degree upon the Ambassador at Harvard University was frontpaged in all Boston papers, and was described at some length in Special and A.P. and U.P. despatches the following day. Both the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune frontpaged President Roosevelt's message of acceptance to the honorary degree conferred upon him in absentia by Oxford University on the same occasion. "We, and all others who believe as deeply as we do, would rather die on our feet than live on our knees," was the statement featured in all accounts; and the New York Times wrote that the world "grew small with a feeling of the imminence of war as the University of Oxford, represented by Lord Halifax and others, held a special convocation in the precincts of Harvard to bestow thereat an honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law upon the President of the United States."

One paper, the Boston Herald, mentioned a mild anti-Halifax student demonstration, June 20th.

The Ambassador's statement before the Harvard Alumni Association that democracy could never be defeated by "so foul and vile a thing

as....

as Nazism" was quoted in most reports, as was his reference to the fact that "the President has declared in no uncertain terms that no man can mistake on which side in this grim contest stands the United States."

All Boston accounts of the occasion were lavishly illustrated, and friendly in tone.

THE BRITISH PRESS SERVICE
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York City
June 23, 1941.

The opening of the Ambassador of the United Kingdom to the United States, Lord Halifax, at the Museum of Modern Art in New York on May 28th, and the presence of Lord and Lady Halifax at a Pontifical Mass for Great Britain at St. Patrick's Cathedral on June 5th, received some publicity in the New York press.

A number of papers reproduced the James Montgomery Flagg portrait of the Ambassador, with the artist's comment that Lord Halifax looked like "A composite of Fred Astaire and Sinclair Lewis with a dash of Roosevelt."

On May 28th the New York Herald Tribune, under the heading "Roosevelt Wants Hitler Excluded, Halifax Too", reported the leader of the Senate isolationist bloc as saying that he believed Dr. Reich was no more of a menace to America than was Viscount Halifax. "He can't," the Senator was quoted as declaring, "be any more dangerous than Halifax or the others now trying so hard to get us into war." On May 21st an A.P. despatch reported that Wheeler at a Washington rally sponsored by the "National anti-war congress" had stated that "I was denouncing Hitler when Halifax was shooting down with Goering."

HARVARD COMMENCEMENT

On June 19th the conferring of a degree upon the Ambassador at Harvard University was featured in all Boston papers, and was described at some length in the Boston Herald and U.P. despatches the following day. Both the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune front-paged President Roosevelt's message of acceptance to the honorary degree conferred upon him in absentia by Oxford University on the same occasion. "We, and all others who believe as deeply as we do, would rather die on our last than live on our knees," was the statement featured in all accounts; and the New York Times wrote that the world "grew small with a feeling of the luminance of men as the University of Oxford, represented by Lord Halifax and others, held a special convocation in the presence of Harvard to bestow thereupon honorary degrees of Doctor of Civil Law upon the President of the United States."

One paper, the Boston Herald, mentioned a mild anti-Halifax student demonstration June 20th.

The Ambassador's statement before the Harvard Alumni Association that democracy could never be defeated by "a few and vile a thing"

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

Via Imperial CE 69/237.^{I.1937.}

DEGYPTER FROM

DATED 9th February, 1941.
3.40 a.m.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

RECEIVED 9th February, 1941.

SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

Circular D. 59.

Discussions on United States bases were formally opened in London on Tuesday 28th January in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and tentative agreement has already been reached on many of the questions involved while good progress is being made with others.

The two most difficult questions are the jurisdiction of powers to be granted to the United States inland and waters adjacent to the leased areas. The former is being dealt with by sub-committee and good progress has been made. We found ourselves completely divided with the United States representative on questions of powers referred to above as they felt unable to depart from the wide provisions in their draft leases which we have objected to on more than one occasion. With the unofficial assistance of Mr. Hopkins the basis for a compromise has now been drafted and there is every prospect of agreement.

Copy - War Cabinet
Defence Co-ord.
E.A.

9/2/41.

(TELEPRINTED ADELAIDE)

THE SECRETARY,
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

REFERRED.

FILE COPY. *NAA-MH*
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

SECRET

CABLEGRAM.

DECYPHER FROM
HIGH COMMISSIONER,
LONDON.

296.
Date sent 1st February, 1941.
6.50 p.m.
Received 2nd February, 1941.

No. 95. S E C R E T. FOR ACTING PRIME MINISTER.

Saw Willkie yesterday. He is deeply impressed by what he has seen here and most appreciative of the treatment that he has received. I think that the visit has been valuable and my impression is that he will be helpful on his return. BRUCE.

Copy to P.M's.Dept. 2.2.41.

naa. msk
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

FILE COPY

CABLEGRAM.

**MOST
SECRET**

DECYPHER FROM -
HIGH COMMISSIONER, LONDON.

Date sent 23rd December, 1940.
6.35 p.m.
Date recd. 24th December, 1940.

No. 1112.

For Prime Minister. MOST SECRET.

Halifax certainly best appointment that could
have been made. Not so sure about Eden.

BRUCE.

Copy to P.M.'s Dept.
24.12.40.

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

FILE COPY

NAA-MK
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. **SECRET**

CABLEGRAM.

1034

DECYPHER FROM

AUSTRALIAN MINISTER, DATE SENT: 19th December, 1940
WASHINGTON. 7.43 p.m.

No. 437

RECEIVED: 20th December, 1940.

SECRET.

United Kingdom Government has telegraphed New Zealand Government giving belated opportunity to send a naval officer here at the time of strategic staff conversations quoting gist of what I proposed to you in my telegram 407. Name of Captain Parry is mentioned.

British service representatives will not arrive here before second week in January.

CASBY.

Copy to: P.M.'s Dept. for War Cabinet
& Dept. of Def. Co-ordin. *20/12/40*

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

SECRET

CABLEGRAM.

997.

DECYPHER FROM
AUSTRALIAN MINISTER,
WASHINGTON.Date sent 15th Dec.1940.
1.29 p.m.
Received 16th Dec.1940.

(Unnumbered)

MOST IMMEDIATE. PERSONAL & SECRET.

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

I have excellent reasons to believe that there is a grave risk of Lloyd George being made British Ambassador to U.S.A. This is viewed with real alarm in high quarters here. I understand that the matter is one of urgency. Perhaps you may be able to do something about it. I have told the Australian High Commissioner in Canada for the personal information of the Prime Minister of Canada and similarly the Minister of South Africa for the Prime Minister of South Africa. Principal reason of my alarm is that Lloyd George regarded here, from his recent writings in newspapers, as favouring appeasement and negotiable peace; and his appointment would make the President's task far more difficult. The British Ambassador at Washington has to believe passionately in the urgent necessity of victory by force of arms. Preferable to be positive force that will dissipate doubts and not negatively encourage them.

The President and leading Cabinet ministers are sound but the majority of the leading figures in the industrial and financial world here are drifting towards eventual peace, that we know would be no peace. Whilst I can naturally quote no names you can take it that the above is the best possible opinion here. Anyone of the following - Halifax, Eustace Percy or Herbert Morrison would be acceptable here.

Copy to P.M's. 16.12.40.

CASEY.

6 group mutilated.

FILE COPY

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

NAA-MK
SECRET

CABLEGRAM. 979

DECYPHER FROM AUSTRALIAN MINISTER, WASHINGTON.

No. 427
Date Sent: 4.3 p.m. - 13/12/40
Date Recd: 13th December, 1940.

No. 125, Repeated to Canberra No. 427. Personal and
Secret for Bruce.

predominant
question
of his successor which is of great concern to Dominions as well as
to Britain. The British Ambassador at Washington is undoubtedly
the key diplomatic post in the world. My experience here makes
me believe that I know the type of individual needed. Personality
is all important here.

Appear presumptuous to suggest individual but I believe
I could offer useful comment on any names suggested if you care to
telegraph me confidentially.

CASEY.

**Copy to P.M.'s Dept.
13/12/40.**

CONFIDENTIALDEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.DECODE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALIAN LEGATION, WASHINGTON.

Date: 12th October, 1940.

Lodged 12.6 a.m.

No. 316:

Received 9 a.m. 13.10.40.

Opinion on Foreign Affairs since my telegram No. 262 has been largely concerned with developments in the Pacific - with the Axis Japanese agreement of September 27th, with speculation regarding likely effects of the rumoured opening of the Burma Road, and, in last few days, with the administration's very pointed action in advising American nationals to withdraw from China and Japan, in removing subsidies on exported wheat and flour to the Far East and in strengthening naval personnel in the Pacific.

2. There was no doubt Axis-Japanese agreement had effect of hardening American opinion and of increasing public support for the Administration's Far Eastern policy including the rejection of appeasement provided that this involved no action open to provoke war. Sub-editors splashed Far East reports and country was keyed up for dramatic developments on the eve of Burma Road decision.

3. When official announcement of opening of Burma Road was accompanied by Administration's advice to American nationals and other measures mentioned in paragraph 1 above press comment revealed some anxiety regarding potentialities of the situation. Cautious note was struck even by such papers as the New York Times and Washington Post which are generally favourable to the Administration's foreign policy. Danger of needlessly provoking Japan was emphasised in view of "the great overshadowing fact that it is in the battles which rage in Europe that the fate of the world and the future security of this nation will be decided." Papers hostile to the administration such as the Chicago Tribune played up Willkie's demand (see my telegram No. 312) that President reveal whether he had entered into any secret commitment with Great Britain.

4. More optimistic and more confident tone is apparent in this morning's press comment following cabled reports from Tokyo that no

-2-

immediate reprisals by Japan are anticipated and even that Japan has back-pedalled. Underlying thought seems to be that the Administration has won the round in the game of bluff and that breathing space has perhaps been obtained in the Far East during which material assistance for Great Britain may be speeded up. There is also considerable satisfaction that this respite has been won by a measure of firmness amounting to action which might reasonably be deemed to provoke war yet without giving the Japanese Government ground for believing stronger action might not be taken in the event of the resumption of diplomatic or military offensive in Tokyo.

Copy to P.M's for War Cabinet and Mr. Shedden.

Sir John Latham.

Capt. Bracegirdle.

Mr. Sedgwick.

14.10.40.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

SECRET
I.8931.

Via Cable 75 Ce 13/38.

DECYPHER FROM

DATED 9th October, 1940.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

4.5 p.m.
RECEIVED 10th October, 1940.

Circular D. 511.

SECRET.

JAPAN.

On 7th October the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State told the Japanese Ambassador that Sir Robert Craigie would shortly be informing the Japanese Government of our decision regarding the Burma Road Agreement. He pointed out, however, that there could be little doubt as to the directions in which we were moving. The Ambassador had already been told that we regretted that every effort we made during the last month to understand the Japanese point of view had met with no result. Since the decision to close the Burma Road during the rainy season, there had occurred the Japanese incursion of Indo China and the signing of the three power pact. The Ambassador must expect some reaction to this lack of understanding of purpose and strength of Great Britain.

2. The Ambassador said that he had realised directly the pact was signed that we would find it difficult to renew the Burma Road Agreement. He did not however wish us to regard it as a vital question and indicated his desire that it should not be exploited by British public opinion in such a way as to impose a strain on Anglo-Japanese relations, particularly in the early days following the signature of the pact.

3. The Ambassador represented that the Japanese had concluded the pact, which was political rather than military or economic, for the purpose of having friends on their side who would sympathise with them in their main objective, namely the closing of the China incident in a manner satisfactory to themselves. The Parliamentary

CABLEGRAM.

-2-

I.8931.

prejudicing friendship with powerful potential friends, the United States and United Kingdom in favour of two nations whose future was by no means yet assured.

4. In reply to an enquiry the Ambassador was informed that there were no immediate development in Anglo American discussions on the Pacific the object of which was to defend and preserve our interests.

5. The Ambassador said finally that to his mind the position was clear that Japan had an understanding with our enemy, Germany; we wished to preserve resistance of Japan's enemy, China. He did not believe either nation desired to attack the other.

Copy sent to -
War Cabinet
Defence Co-ord.
E.A.

10.10.40.

Teleprinted.

msa-uk
432.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DECODE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALIAN MINISTER, WASHINGTON.

Dated 4th October, 1940.

Lodged 6.17 p.m.

No.300.

Received 3.30 p.m.
5.10.40.

In spite of any query appearing in Australian press of the validity of Willkie's statement in Christian Science Monitor on 30th September, I have ascertained from Willkie source that personal conversation with Monitor correspondent took place substantially as given in my telegram No.294. Authorised source has since stated "the story stands."

SECRETDEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALIAN MINISTER,
WASHINGTON.

Date: 3rd October 1940

Lodged 7.56 p.m.

No. 298

Recd. 3.30 p.m.
4/10/40.SECRET.

Repeated to London 93.

British Ambassador plans to fly to London for brief
consultative visit leaving 7th October or 8th October if the
Far East situation permits.

CASEY.

Copy: P.M.'s Department for War Cabinet
and Mr. Shedden.

SECRET

I. 8742.

DECYPHER FROM -
 AUSTRALIAN MINISTER,
 WASHINGTON.

Dated - 3rd October, 1940.
 7.51 p.m.
 Received - 4th October, 1940.

SECRET. No. 294.

I believe it is true to say it is most unlikely one month before the elections that the United States will commit itself in advance to go to war with Japan in the hypothetical circumstances if Japan takes warlike action against British or Netherlands East Indies' territory in retaliation for opening of the Burma Road. On this premise, I discussed the whole Burma Road problem again with Lothian today as a result of which he is telegraphing his Government tonight on the following general lines.

The United States is now well aware of and committed to the view that the security of the United States is bound up with security of Britain. They are implementing this view by sending all material support in their power to Britain and at the same time speeding up their own fighting forces and munitions manufacture.

Successful Japanese attack on British Far Eastern interests or on the Netherland East Indies would have repercussions on British strength, prestige and morale and so would be against American interests.

It would also strengthen Japan strategically and economically and make her a more formidable power vis a vis the United States.

If Japan were to attack Hong Kong she would be at war with Britain and the security of Singapore would be in question. And Singapore is included in the minds of the United States Navy and of the American public as an essential counterpart to Hawaii vis a vis Japan.

It is more difficult to estimate the effect on the United States of Japanese attack on the Netherlands East Indies. The

British Ambassador's view is that American reaction would be a little slower than what would result from an attack on British territory but that menace to Singapore would determine them to action relatively quickly.

If the United States entered into the war against Japan it is clear she would, in association with the British forces, set up a long-distance blockade against Japan and would use her naval forces to counter Japanese aggression against Singapore and elsewhere. Such action would not involve at any rate for some time any considerable drain on American resources.

The British Government seems inclined to believe it is not in the interest of the defence of Britain herself that United States should enter the war in the Far East. The British Ambassador and I disagree with this view. We believe the Far Eastern Naval war would not eat deeply into American naval and air resources. Added to which is the fact that nothing but active participation will result in the abolition of American neutrality restrictions on finance and shipping trade unions drive them to speed up the scale and tempo of armament production to what is adequate.

German-Japanese pact has moved American opinion strongly against Japan. No doubt the press has reported Willkie's statement published in the Christian Science Monitor on September 30th endorsing immediate extension of joint Anglo-American defence action to include vital points in the Pacific and favouring ^{further} negotiations with Britain which would give America air and naval base commensurate with Singapore and in Australia. Willkie is reported as saying he would exert his full leadership of the Republican Party to encourage and facilitate prompt steps to these ends. He said it is a natural corollary to the agreement on the British West Indies bases and should have been done before now.

Whilst my own view for what it is worth is that Willkie

will not become President, the above statement removes co-operative action in the Pacific from party politics and helps formidably to guide public opinion.

The British Ambassador believes that unless the views of reckless extremists prevail, Japan is unlikely to retaliate violently against the opening of the Burma Road. He believes that Japan's one chance would occur if Germany and Italy were to impose such grave losses on British Navy in the Atlantic that it became necessary for the United States to move substantial portion of its fleet from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Such possibility appears most remote in the near future. Spanish decision not to come in with the Axis, for the present at least, lends additional support to this view.

The British Ambassador and I believe the American Fleet at Hawaii and rising temper of United States against Japan is likely to deter Japan from any substantial southward adventure but that if Japan does attack we believe the United States will with considerable rapidity recognise that they must come to our armed assistance and that for them to do so would, on net balance, be to the advantage of the whole British cause.

The British Ambassador at Moscow telegraphed London asking for authority to take U.S.S.R. more fully into our confidence on the subject of the Burma Road, in which they are known to be greatly interested.

The British Ambassador at Washington is telegraphing London supporting this.

Russian supplies to China via the Burma Road is obviously one of the few Russian means of pressing and embarrassing Japan by maintaining Chinese resistance and so deterring Japan from other adventures.

On receipt of instructions about suggestion for staff conversations the British Ambassador and I will see the Secretary of State together at once.

CASEY.

SECRETDEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALIAN MINISTER WASHINGTON.

Date 27th September 1940

Lodged

No. 288

Recd. 945 a.m. 30/9/40.

Repeated London 87.

SECRET.

The British Ambassador had a conversation with the Secretary of State this morning before definite news of German pact was known. The British Ambassador tells me that the Secretary of State clearly feels that German-Japanese alignment inevitably means that the United States itself will eventually be drawn into the war, although the Secretary of State did not specifically say so.

The Secretary of State said if war did come American policy in early stages would be a long-range blockade, and that he did not think it would involve any considerable diversion of munitions from Britain and British countries.

The British Ambassador finds it difficult to believe that Japan would plunge into war against us at the behest of Germany with practical certainty of bringing in the United States against them.

The British Ambassador is considering whether he will recommend to the British Government the opening of the Burma road at once, in view of Japanese-German pact, instead of waiting three weeks to do so.

The British Ambassador has not reported in the above sense to the British Government and will wait till Sunday before telegraphing in order to size up American public opinion.

My own definite impression is that German-Japanese Pact will harden American opinion against Japan.

It is probable that the State Department may ask me before long what trade Australia is doing with Japan. Please

/telegraph

telegraph particulars. I will not open the subject but
it would be useful to have information on hand.

CASEY.

Copies: P.M.'s for War Cabinet and
Mr. Shedden

Sir John Latham

Japan - Indo China
283.
SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM THE AUSTRALIAN MINISTER,
WASHINGTON.

Dated 20th September, 1940.

Lodged 8.30 p.m.

No. 272.

Received 9 a.m. 22.9.40.

SECRET.

Lothian cabled today to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs summarizing his views on the Burma Road and asking for instructions.

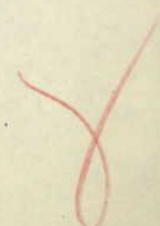
The United States Government is assuming that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is working towards opening the road and the British Ambassador does not want to mislead the United States Government by his attitude if this is not so.

The British Ambassador assumes neither the United States Government, Britain nor France can now organize resistance to the Japanese in Indo-China but he believes Indo-China adventure will absorb Japan and make unlikely any early attempt against British possessions or the Netherlands East Indies although admittedly eventually it brings the Japanese menace substantially further south.

In view of assumed Japanese preoccupation with Indo-China and United States' increasing use of diplomatic and economic weapons against Japan, the British Ambassador tends to think Japan unlikely to take warlike action if the Burma Road opened.

He agrees further that if the road is kept closed Chinese moral and material incentive to maintaining resistance will be much in question and it is continuance of Chinese resistance that mainly deters Japanese from important adventures elsewhere.

He/



He concludes this subject by saying: "Course therefore for opening the road seems to be overwhelming from here and so it is most important that if His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom believe differently it should advise me early so that I can warn the United States Government."

On the subject of Japanese demands on the Netherlands East Indies regarding oil, the British Ambassador recommends to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that the Dutch be prompted to take line (1) that they undertake not to put embargo on oil to Japan (2) that they cannot break existing contracts, but (3) that they will sell Japan any balance of production over and above that already contracted for.

Sir Andrew Agnew believes the above proposal would give Japan about 2,000,000 tons annually, inclusive of the 200,000 tons she is already getting.

Japan is seeking three million tons annually for five years and demands likely to increase.

CASEY.

259.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRSCOPY OF TELEGRAM FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER, LONDON.

Date 18th September, 1940.

Lodged 7 p.m.

Recd. 10 a.m.

B.171.

19/9/40.

Associated Press report sixteenth September that Japanese nationals in French Indo-China warned by their Consul-General Tuesday to prepare to leave. Indicated that order to go would be given in event of breakdown of Franco-Japanese talks now proceeding.

Domei report Tokyo that Foreign Office spokesman in statement regarding Japanese protest to United States about unfair anti-Japanese discrimination regarding gasoline embargo declared particularly unfair for United States to ban gasoline export to Japan since she possesses ample supplies and is in position to produce gasoline to any amount. Furthermore America is thereby violating principle of free trade which Cordell Hull been advocating so many years. Trade and racial equality have been the two big principles for which Japan has been fighting since the Conference at Versailles. Questioned by German correspondent whether gasoline finding way to Great Britain, spokesman said: "Personally I am of the opinion that the many transactions between United States and Great Britain including sales of arms and ammunition involve legal questions of infringement of neutrality".

EXTERNAL.

Copies to -

P.M.'s Dept.

Def. Co-ord. Dept.

19.9.40.

Mr. Sedgwick

National Archives of Australia

NAA: A981, UNI 173 PART 2

CONFIDENTIAL

256

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DECODE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALIAN MINISTER, WASHINGTON.

Date: 18th September, 1940.

Lodged 7.15 p.m.

No. 262

Recd. 5 p.m. 19/9/40

Reference my telegram No. 239 during past fortnight opinion as a result favourable, comments in United States press on high British morale and pronouncements by such trusted leaders as General Pershing and Knox, Secretary of the Navy is increasingly less apprehensive of the British defeat.

Wilkie has lost some ground partly as a result of his ill informed attack on the President's foreign policy in which he declared latter responsible for betrayal of Czechoslovakia.

Reports from recent journalist visitors to Australia still emphasize Australia's strength and significance and newspaper men in Washington have been discussing and reporting briefly concerning possibility of Australian-American defence co-operation although the Secretary of State has denied the existence of any negotiations in his press conferences. So far no strong editorial comment opposed to such co-operation, probably because the matter has not yet become an issue.

Press will have reported speedy final agreement on Conscription Bill. Destroyer-base deal and co-operation with Canada still popularly being generally regarded as absolutely necessary.

There seems to be a steady growing current of feeling that the United States may be in the war within six months. This feeling is based on similarity of recent developments with events of the preceding American entry into the last war.

New French Ambassador has had a cool reception with pronounced hostility in some quarters.

Press gives some prominence to my visits to Mr. Hull stressing Australia's interest in the Far East. Developments in Indo-China are followed closely but without much emphasis

by the Press.

Signature of Peace Commission Treaty was played up by some provincial newspapers and reported on fully throughout the country by the United Press.

Explosion at Hercules Powder Company New Jersey led to renewed demands for the eradication of fifth column.

CASEY.

COPIES TO: P.M.'S Dept. for War Cabinet
and Mr. Shedden 20/9/40

COPY TO: Sir John Latham 20/9/40

COPIES TO: Captain Bracegirdle
Mr. Sedgwick 20/9/40

DECODE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM BRITISH AMBASSADOR, TOKYO.

Dated 18th September, 1940.

Lodged 7.20 p.m.

No. 45.

Recd. 8.30 a.m. - 19/9/40.

Ministry of Information telegram No. 220, Information Hong Kong telegram No. 10, Information Singapore telegram No. 57, Canberra telegram No. 45.

Monitoring Report 9th September - 16th September.

News broadcasts divided: Domestic 123, China 34, European War 80, International 23, 26 Pro-Ally, 42, Anti-Ally. Reports on London bombing were sensational but grudging tribute is paid to civilian morale.

(2) Lecture 15th September entitled "Anglo-American Common Front" by Takata Managing-Director Tokyo Nichi Nichi began by the statement that whether or not Germany lands troops in Great Britain she is now defeating Britain and there is a possibility that Government and military forces will evacuate Great Britain. That however not leading to British surrender but to continual struggle from Empire with result that the war will extend from Europe to the Atlantic and thence to East Asia. America will then ally herself with Britain acting as she has acted hitherto in East Asia as Britain's agent. Several examples are then cited of American support of Britain's Far Eastern policy including statement on status quo in Indo-China. Thesis is then developed that Britain and America are bound in future to act together in both Europe and Far East and result is inevitable collision with Japan. "Common enemies of Anglo-American Front are Germany and Italy in Europe and Japan in East", lecturer concluded.

(3) September 10th there were broadcasts by Japanese correspondents in Berlin London Rome Takeo Ohara representing Osaka Mainichi in Berlin Apotheosised Nazi regime particularly its social and economic achievements and urged that Japan should associate herself more closely with Germany and Italy which were building new

world order. There was little reference to war except to say that all was well in Germany. Broadcast lasted 9 minutes and was quite clear.

(4) Senji Yanada, Yomiuri correspondent in London said that after the collapse of France it was not thought that Britain would immediately surrender. But despite her fierce aerial attacks there were no signs of such surrender (interruption). On the contrary R.A.F. was carrying out successful raids on Germany, Italy and German occupied territory. Unless Germany could bring Britain to her knees within one month chances would cease to be in favour of Germany (interruption). After that German landing in England would be almost impossible while Britain would be better armed. Germany now realises that she must be prepared for long war and so was seeking self sufficiency by arrangements in the Balkans. Germany was planning to blockade Britain but without a large fleet this was impossible. Speaker started to refer to American support for Britain but at this point speech was cut off. London speech lasted about 10 minutes but reception was poor. Tokyo announcer apologised for interruptions attributing them to some unknown reason.

(5) Yoshinori Maeda, Asahi correspondent in Rome said victory in Somaliland had greatly strengthened the position of Italy which was defeat of Britain in the Mediterranean and also in Egypt. Italy would invade Africa when Germany landed troops in England. Thus even if the war were prolonged there was little likelihood of Britain's position becoming stronger. By Balkan arrangements the Axis had guaranteed its rear. On the other hand Britain was suffering from disaffection in her dominions and colonies, had lost nearly all her aircraft, as a result of German blockade food was scarce and morale low. Roosevelt's apparent aid to Britain simply meant that he foresaw Britain's defeat and intended to invite her into an Anglo-Saxon bloc of which America would be the leader. Even if Roosevelt were re-elected it was unlikely that America would enter the war. Russian action would not affect the war in any way. The war would end before next summer at the latest and new order would be

established in Europe. Broadcast lasted about 10 minutes and was

245

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.COPY OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER, LONDON.Dated: 18th September, 1940. Lodged: 7⁴ p.m.

No. B.172 Recd.: 19th September, 1940.

Domei report that London Branch Bank of Japan damaged by German incendiary bomb Tuesday and fire started in building.

Domei report from Moscow states Pravada declared Monday that by allying itself with Great Britain United States was aiming at control of Singapore and Australia not only to cut Japan's access to raw materials in South Sea but to maintain points for offensive operations against Japan. Article concludes with statement that with Japan moving in South Eastern Asia events in Europe casting ominous shadow on waste spaces in Pacific.

EXT. RNAL.

COPIES TO: P.M.'S Dept.
Def. Co-Ordn. 19/9/40

COPIES TO: Captain Bracegirdle
Mr. Sedgwick 19/9/40

USA-MK
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 7531.

DECYPHER FROM

DATED 3rd September, 1940.

2.36 p.m.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

RECEIVED 4th September, 1940.

(Through U.K. High Commissioner)

SECRET

IMMEDIATE.

Circular Z. 234.

With reference to exchange of notes between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States news of which will be released in this country at 6.30 p.m. British Summer Time to-day, following is being said confidentially by the Ministry of Information to the Press for guidance -

1. Acquisition of leases by the United States first mentioned in the statement by the Prime Minister of 20th August. When first approaches were made on the lines of this statement cognate questions arose. These became merged in present bi-lateral negotiations.
2. It has long been known that the United Kingdom has wanted these destroyers. They will be particularly useful at the present time before new destroyers under construction have been completed.
3. On her side the United States has acquired sea and air bases in two very important areas -
 - (a) near the Panama Canal
 - (b) in Newfoundland etc.

Bases under (a) are primarily for her own defence needs. Region is vital strategic link between the Atlantic and Pacific. Those under (b) are rather a contribution to our common interests in defence of the Western Hemisphere.
4. There has been no transfer of sovereignty.
5. Facilities have been provided only with the consent of the administrations in the territories concerned and after consultation with the Canadian Government.
6. Note that parallel negotiations upon defence requirements in the Western Hemisphere are proceeding between Canada and the United States.
7. Conclusion of agreement is enthusiastically welcomed in the United Kingdom not only on account of its material benefits but as an indication of mutual goodwill between the United States and ourselves.

Copy to War Cabinet. (teleprinted)
Sir K. Murdoch.
E.A., Defence, Navy.
4.9.40.

Draft Telegram for

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS
LONDON.

The Commonwealth Government considers that the possibility of a British Trans-Pacific Air Service, necessitating the grant of landing rights on Hawaii and the American mainland, should be ~~kept~~^{Kept} in mind. We feel that, in view of the success of recent negotiations with the United States on the grant of facilities in the West Indies ~~without~~^{however, making} it as a specific issue, the question of ~~the grant~~^{grant} landing rights in American territory might be raised with the United States Administration.

MENZIES.

GA

41.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

COPY OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER, LONDON.

Dated: 24/8/40

Lodged: 230 p.m.

No. B.147

Received 12.16 p.m. 25/8/40

Mr. Churchill's speech given fitting prominence Japanese press but press reactions not favourable. Expressions of defiance are seen as bravado in the face of defeat and there is a tendency to characterise the whole speech as a pathetic appeal to America. The fear is generally expressed that the leasing of bases will be extended to the Pacific if this is not already effected through the secret agreement of whose existence the whole world is aware. America is being manoeuvred into the position of British watchdog in the Pacific and British policy is helping to fulfil American ambitions in the Far East. Japan must prepare counter measures against any change in the status quo.

COPY TO: DEPT. OF DEFENCE CO-ORDINATION
26/8/40

2H

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALIAN MINISTER, WASHINGTON.

Dated 24th August, 1940.

Lodged 10.41 p.m.

No.222.Received 8.30 a.m.
26.8.40.

SECRET. Discussion has been proceeding between the British and American Governments as to lease of bases in the British West Indies and the provision of fifty destroyers etc. The Prime Minister of Great Britain wishes lease to be spontaneous on the part of Britain and not as valuable consideration for destroyers. The President considers that legally and politically he can only provide destroyers as quid pro quo for bases which enhance the security of the United States. I believe form of words will be found to bridge the present differences.

I have discussed with the British Ambassador the possibility of including bases of interest to Australia but he believes not possible in this deal, which from the American viewpoint concerns western hemisphere defence only.

CASEY.

Copies to : War Cabinet
Secretary, P.M.'s Dept.
Secretary, Dept. Defence Co-ordination.

26.8.40.

COPY OF TELEPRINTER MESSAGE.

M.78. 1227 FOR AIR SECTION, DEFENCE SECRETARIAT, CANBERRA.
FROM DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF CIVIL AVIATION.

SECRET.

IMMEDIATE.

FOR MINISTER FOR CIVIL AVIATION: IN SECRET
CABLEGRAM NO.252 DATED 3rd AUGUST, THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
DOMINION AFFAIRS HAS ADVISED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS
DECIDED TO MEET THE DESIRES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
BY OFFERING FACILITIES FOR UNITED STATES MILITARY AIRCRAFT
TO LAND AT JAMAICA, GEORGETOWN (BRITISH GUIANA) TRINIDAD AND
NEWFOUNDLAND. ALSO CERTAIN FACILITIES ARE TO BE GIVEN PAN
AMERICAN AIRWAYS AT TRINIDAD AND JAMAICA.

IT IS CONSIDERED THAT THE GRANTING OF THESE
FACILITIES BY THE UNITED KINGDOM SHOULD BE SEIZED AS AN OPPORTUNITY
TO ASK THE UNITED STATES AUTHORITIES TO GRANT FACILITIES FOR
BRITISH AIR SERVICE TO CALL AT HAWAII AND SAN FRANCISCO (OR SOME
OTHER POINT ON THE WEST COAST OF UNITED STATES) WHEN THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED ARE IN A POSITION TO ESTABLISH A BRITISH
TRANS-PACIFIC SERVICE.

IF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO
CONSIDER GRANTING OF THESE RIGHTS FOR A BRITISH SERVICE IT IS
THOUGHT THAT THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT COULD WELL OFFER ALSO
TO GRANT PAN AMERICAN AIRWAYS RIGHTS TO EXTEND THEIR SERVICE
ON FROM AUCKLAND TO SYDNEY IF SUCH OFFER WAS NECESSARY TO
COMPLETE THE EXCHANGE AND PROVIDED OF COURSE THAT THERE IS NO
AMBIGUITY AS TO THE RIGHTS FOR A BRITISH SERVICE TO OPERATE
THROUGH AMERICAN TERRITORY ALONG THE ROUTE OF THE PROPOSED
BRITISH TRANS-PACIFIC SERVICE FROM AUSTRALIA VIA NEW ZEALAND
TO CANADA.

IF IT IS DECIDED TO TAKE THE ACTION PROPOSED IN
THIS MINUTE, IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THE UNITED KINGDOM GOVERNMENT
BE CABLED IMMEDIATELY AND THAT ADVICE OF SUCH CABLEGRAM BE
FORWARDED TO THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT AND TO MR. CASEY.

MESSAGE ENDS 1233 7.8.40.

CABLEGRAM.

COPY FROM -

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

DATED 20th August, 1940,
11.18 p.m.
RECEIVED 21st August, 1940.

Circular D. 430.

Following three passages were included in Prime Minister's speech in House of Commons on 20th August:-

1. Our Navy is far stronger than at the beginning of the war. The great flow of new construction set on foot at the outbreak is now beginning to come in. We hope our friends across the ocean will send us a timely reinforcement to bridge the gap between the peace flotillas of 1939 and the war flotillas of 1941.

2. In our own case, if we had been put in the terrible position of France - a contingency now happily impossible - although of course it would have been the duty of all war leaders to fight on here to the end, it would also have been their duty, as I indicated in my speech of 4th June, to provide as far as possible for the naval security of Canada and our Dominions and to make sure they had the means to carry on the struggle from beyond the oceans.

3. We have to think not only for ourselves but for the lasting security of the cause and principles for which we are fighting, and the long future of the British Commonwealth of nations. Some months ago we came to the conclusion that the interests of the United States and of the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for the naval and air defence of the Western Hemisphere against the attack of a Nazi power which might have acquired temporary but lengthy control of a large part of Western Europe and its formidable resources. We had, therefore, decided spontaneously, and without being asked or offered any inducement, to inform the

/Government

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

2.**CABLEGRAM.**

Government of the United States that we would be glad to place such defence facilities at their disposal by leasing suitable sites in our Trans Atlantic possessions for their greater security against the unmeasured dangers of the future, the principle of association of interests for common purposes between Great Britain and the United States had developed even before the war. Various agreements had been reached about certain small islands in the Pacific Ocean which have become important as air fuelling points. In all this line of thought we found ourselves in very close harmony with the Government of Canada. Presently we learned that anxiety was also felt in the United States about the Air and Naval Defence of their Atlantic Seaboard, and President Roosevelt has recently made it clear that he would like to discuss with us, and with the Dominion of Canada and with Newfoundland, the development of American naval and air facilities in Newfoundland and in the West Indies. There is, of course, no question of any transference of sovereignty - that has never been suggested - or of any action being taken without the consent or against the wishes of the various Colonies concerned. But for our part, His Majesty's Government is entirely willing to accord defence facilities to the United States on a 99 years' leasehold basis, and we feel sure that our interests no less than theirs and the interests of the Colonies and of Canada and Newfoundland themselves will be served thereby.

COPY TO WAR CABINET
DEPT. DEFENCE CO.
" E.A.

21.8.1940.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DECRYPTER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALIAN MINISTER, WASHINGTON.

Date: 15th August, 1940.

Lodged 8.19 p.m.

Recd. 4.00 p.m.

No. 202.

16/8/40.

I saw Sumner-Welles last night with reference to the third last paragraph my telegram 198 (63 under discussion with Bruce). In addition to renewal of American-Russian trade agreement American Administration is working confidentially towards the improvement of all round relations with Russia. Netherlands Minister at Washington tells me that group of prominent Japanese business men and officials of Japanese Supply Commission is believed due at Java * principally to attempt to obtain oil well concessions and guarantee uninterrupted oil supply. Apparently no decision yet made whether General Koiso well-known advocate of strong forward policy is to lead this mission or whether his possible visit to Java has separate and political significance. Efforts have been proceeding for some time to get from the United States 50 destroyers, 22 motor torpedo boats, some flying boats and other items.

The British Government has now authorised the British Ambassador at Washington to offer as quid pro quo right to use British naval and air bases in British West Indies. The matter is now in the hands of the President for final decision. I believe if this deal matures it will be a step forward in that it will mark the recognition of some degree of identity of mutual defensive interests, although admittedly only in respect of the Western Hemisphere.

Darwin memorandum received and I am passing it confidentially to Sumner Welles.

For Murdoch. I am airmailing speech on record suitable for reproduction if required.

State Department wishes to know how far Consular officials should watch Australian interests in Tunis, Algiers and Morocco. Shall they do the same when new United States consulates are established at Dakar and Martinique? Position in Saigon they state is obscure but they may shortly be asked to take over the British interests there, and would like provisional instructions for this place also.

CASEY.

**MOST
SECRET**DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.DECYPTER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM HIGH COMMISSIONER, LONDON.

Dated 1/8/40

Lodged 10.15 p.m.

No. 522

Received 10.30 a.m. 2/8/40.

IMMEDIATE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER. PERSONAL HIMSELF.

Prime Minister has sent personal communication to Roosevelt giving a frank picture of the position and urging immediate release of destroyers and flying boats which to be of maximum value must be made available at once.

American Ambassador anticipates that owing to the growing apprehension in the United States reply will be favourable.

BRUCE.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM HIGH COMMISSIONER, LONDON.

Dated: 30th July 1940

Lodged 9.16 p.m.

No. 613

Recd. 10.30 a.m.

31st July 1940

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER MOST SECRET.

JAPAN. View here with regard to arrests is that they probably signify an attempt by military to create an incident with the United Kingdom. Considered possible that the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs will endeavour to counter this move but even so doubtful whether they are strong enough to do so.

Craigie considers that the Minister for Foreign Affairs will do his best to exercise moderating influence.

UNITED STATES. Dominions office cabling you specific request made for facilities in the West Indies. This move in my view of greatest importance and significance.

Seeing Halifax tomorrow, mainly with reference to Japan and Turkish-Soviet relations.

OIL. Appreciation sent in Z198 was prepared by Petroleum Department which is strongly opposed to any action. Appreciation by the Ministry of Economic Warfare modifies many estimates, altering reduction of United Kingdom imports of lubricating oils for year from 781,000 tons to 550,000 and increases Japanese consumption from three and a half to four million tons to five and a quarter. Position still under examination.

BRUCE.

1050A - MK

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALIAN MINISTER,
WASHINGTON.

Dated: 23rd July 1940

Lodged 6.17 p.m.

No. 162

Received 1.30 p.m.
24/7/40.

Your telegram 98.

Hull's statement is generally regarded as reiteration of U.S.A's support of doctrine of open door and was largely for public consumption. While some of the press appeared to go out of their way to over-emphasize it, on the whole reason for British action has been appreciated and only slight criticism.

Generally there is no new development with regard to United States Far Eastern policy which remains negative and I believe statement in my telegram No. 147 remains true.

CASEY.

NSA-WK

DECRYPTER OF CABLEGRAM FROM:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

I. 5534
W 173 via Imp 200/30 S
Dated: 17th July, 1940
2-42 a.m.

Received: 17th July, 1940.

MOST SECRET

Addressed to the Commonwealth of Australia. 252. My telegram 235.
New Zealand 222. My telegram 202.
High Commissioner, Pretoria. 309. My telegram 264.

Aide-Memoire setting out directions in which extension of economic and financial assistance from the United States of America is desired, was handed, on 3rd July, to the United States Secretary of State by His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington.

Lord Lothian has now reported that, on 12th July, Mr. Cordell Hull told him that he had been greatly interested in the aide-memoire and hoped to have examination of it by his experts complete before long. Lord Lothian, in reply, express the hope that it would be taken in all seriousness since, though he was not instructed to say so, it was in effect, a statement of conditions essential in the long run for the successful prosecution of the war.

Lord Lothian added that he has also been endeavouring to emphasize the importance of the aide-memoire in private meetings.

COPY - WAR CABINET
MR. SHEDDEN
COL. HODGSON
MR. MOORE
MR. MURPHY
MR. McFARLANE
MR. BRIGDEN
17/7/40

(teleprint to Sydney)

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRSDECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALIAN MINISTER, WASHINGTON.

Dated: 11th July, 1940.

Lodged 5.12 p.m.

No. 151.

Recd. 10.30 a.m. - 12/7/40.

Useful discussion in New York yesterday on lines of Prime Minister's unnumbered telegram of 4th July. United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, South Africa and India represented. Result will be cabled in next 24 hours.

New York meeting on aircraft followed by meeting at British Embassy at Washington last night when general question of future munition supplies from U.S.A. discussed informally, which secretary to Treasury and members of President's Advisory Commission of National Defence attended.

One point in particular emerged, that individual British countries which have to place orders or at least produce firm forecast of all their warlike requirements from U.S.A. for at least six if not twelve months ahead to be co-ordinated with the requirements of United States rearmament programme through the President's Advisory Commission.

In the above connection it may well be necessary to accept many munitions to American standards instead of British.

Strongly suggest early attention be given to the above and probably first come first served.

We should state as far as possible and as quickly as possible our local requirements for all main munitions items including aeroplanes whether we can see our way to pay for them or not.

CASEY.

7

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM. I. 5255.

DECYPHER FROM

AUSTRALIAN MINISTER,
WASHINGTON.

Sent 9th July, 1940, 4. p.m.

Received 10th July, 1940.

No. 149.

SECRET.

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.

Repeated to Bruce, No. 56.

Telegraphic instructions to Craigie regarding Burma Road represent discreet refusal to close the Road, and end with tactful reference to possibility of co-operation in the larger question of ending the war in China, in which the issue of the Burma problem is but a small factor. Suggest that it is advisable that you arm Bruce with all possible arguments for urgency pursuing vigorous attempt to get all around Far East settlement, of which in its turn the China war is but a part.

I saw Welles last night. He endorsed my telegram No. 147 to Canberra (54 to London).

The British Ambassador at Washington on instructions presented two aide memoires to the Secretary of State on 6th July dealing with the following subjects:-

Urgent need of British countries for munitions from U.S.A. on very much greater scale than hitherto and that this plus Americans' own increasing rearmaments call for far-reaching and long-range industrial reorganization in U.S.A. if the mistakes made British supply arrangements are to be avoided.

Stated Britain would pay cash as long as possible but would eventually need credit.

American
Urged that ships be allowed access to British ports.

Proposed coordination between British Empire and Pan-American arrangements dealing with commodity export surpluses.

Necessity for blocking supplies essential to enemy at sources in the Americas.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 5255 - 2 -

I told Welles that although I had no specific instructions to leave aide-memoire on the matters I knew His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia would want to be associated with the above to the extent that they concerned Australia.

The position here is that the Democratic Party Convention takes place on July 20th and it is quite impossible to get adequate attention to matter of such vital importance by the President and senior officials until appreciably after 20th July. I believe that any pressure to get earlier reply would only result in getting meaningless diplomatic response that would make it difficult to reopen the questions.

With reference to your telegram No. 83 Welles said that it would embarrass the Administration to have to give reply at present regarding New Caledonia.

I am assured that the United States Government machinery for setting up licensing authority regarding munitions export will not make more difficult our obtaining munitions here.

Statement made on behalf of President by his Secretary July 6th regarding Monroe doctrine, Far East, etc. may be disregarded.

I saw Berle today and gave him picture of the economic position created for Australia by war, asking for sympathetic consideration of our problem. I emphasized that normally Australian consumption of United States products was greater than consumption by Mexico or any South American State except Argentine.

CASEY

Copy sent to War Cabinet.
Mr. Shedden. TELEPRINTED.

WGA-WK
F
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

EN CLAIR

TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER, LONDON.

Dated 4th July, 1940.

No.B110.

Daily Herald correspondent Shanghai reported 2nd July French authorities Shanghai have agreed to Japanese demands concerning right to search persons and premises to make arrests of Chinese and hand them over to Wang regime and for the control of Chinese Courts. Also that American citizens in Shanghai most of whom live in French Concession have cabled to State Department regarding the position. B.U.P. report that General Hata Japanese War Minister has handed Premier formal statement disagreeing with recent speech of Foreign Minister. Report further states Hata told Premier that speech was weak misrepresented views of services and was too conciliatory to democracies. Domei report that Japanese Foreign Office spokesman when asked about secret naval agreement which Kokimin Shimbun reported being concluded between Great Britain and United States said there's no official information confirming report but recalled as early 1938 Round Table reported existence gentleman's agreement between Anglo-American navies providing mutual co-operation. On strength reliable information reaching certain quarters Tuesday Kokumin Shimbun understands secret naval agreement being concluded between Great Britain and United States with special reference Pacific.

CABLEGRAM.

SECRET

FROM

The Secretary of State for
Dominion Affairs,
LONDON.

DATED 12th June, 1940,
5.50 a.m.
RECEIVED 12th June, 1940.

Circular Telegram B.116.

Secret.

Following for Prime Minister.

NORWAY.

1. King and Crown Prince and Government of Norway have arrived here.

GERMANY.

2. Germans are reported to have postponed indefinitely delivery of 12 bombers ordered by Estonia. His Majesty's Minister at Riga concludes that an embargo has suddenly been placed on exports of all aircraft from Germany.

U.S.S.R.

3. Soviet Government have been informed that Sir William Seeds has been recalled and Sir Stafford Cripps accredited as his successor.

ITALY.

4. We have requested United States Government to take charge of our interests.

Copy to War Cabinet
Dept. Defence Co.
" E.A.

12.6.1940.

WSA-WK
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

I. 4163.

DECLASSIFIED FROM

W. 303 Via Imp. 214.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

DATED 12th June, 1940.
9.3 a.m.
RECEIVED 13th June, 1940.

Circular D. 251.

MOST SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister -

SPAIN.

D. 237 Paragraph 4, and Spain D. 242.

The suggestion is being pursued further. In any case
President Roosevelt's speech last night marks a substantial
change in the situation.

Copy to - War Cabinet.
Def. (teleprinted)
E.A.
13.6.40.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

I. 4093.

CABLEGRAM. 12 71/28.

DECYPHER FROM

DATED 10th June, 1940.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

10.25 p.m.
RECEIVED 11th June, 1940.

Circular B. 115.

SECRET.

Brazilian Minister has informed His Majesty's Minister at Rio De Janeiro that Italy has asked the Brazilian Government, in the event of war, to assume protection of Italian interests in Great Britain and the Dominions and in France.

(2) His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has been instructed to make provisional request to the United States Government to take charge of our interests in Italy, if necessary.

Copy sent to -
War Cabinet
Defence Co-ordination.
E.A.
11.6.40.
Customs.
Commerce.
Interior.
A.G.'s.
P.M.G. and Dept.
Information.

(teleprinted)

7

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.1. 4050
**MOST
SECRET**

FROM

The Secretary of State
for Dominion Affairs,
LONDON.

SENT 9th June, 1940,

5.5. a.m.

RECEIVED 9th June, 1940.

Circular D. 242.

Most Secret

Following for Prime Minister.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

1. My telegram Circular D. 237 paragraph 4.
In the opinion of His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington the overwhelming mass of United States Congressional opinion does not appear to have got beyond the point of willingness to help the Allies by every means, which do not lead to involvement or paralyse their own programme and Congress does not yet appear to be ready to repeal the Neutrality Act.
2. On the other hand His Majesty's Ambassador considers that there is a growing conviction, as yet held by a minority, that the only rightful thing for the United States of America to do is to enter the war; partly on the moral ground that this is America's as much as the Allies, and partly on the grounds that France and Britain form the first line of American's own defences.
3. Since any suggestions or pretence that we do not want United States to come into the War would probably impede rather than to progress this minority in their efforts to carry the rest of United States opinion with them. His Majesty's Ambassador deprecates the line of action suggested in my telegram under reference.
4. Matter is therefore under re-consideration.

COPY TO WAR CABINET

Dept. Defence Co.

" External Affairs.

9.6.1940.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

Via. 1000 153/41 Gr 41 X 15.

DECYPHER FROM

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

CABLEGRAM

DATED 7th June, 1940.

2.50 a.m.

RECEIVED 7th June, 1940.

LONDON.

Circular D. 257.

MOST SECRET.

Following for Prime Minister -

JAPAN.

(1) According to His Majesty's Ambassador at Tokyo, German successes have stimulated movement in Japan towards national solidarity, which by aiming at the early settlement of the China incident and the strengthening of the Japanese position generally may favour the rise of a strong nationalistic but not necessarily pro-German party likely to hasten the fall of the present Government.

SWITZERLAND.

(2) As a result of Swiss resistance to the German pressure in the Swiss-German trade negotiations, the Germans are reported to have implied that force would be used if their requests were refused.

ROUMANIA.

(3) His Majesty's Ambassador at Bucharest has been authorised to warn the Roumanian Government of the danger in a servile policy towards Germany which they have apparently adopted.

UNITED STATES.

(4) Progress in United States. Public opinion towards willingness to help the Allies together with the counteracting of terrors and fears in the United States as regards the possibility of involvement in the totalitarian war, has led us to consider launching a campaign designed to show that it is neither to our interest nor our benefit that the United States should become involved in the totalitarian warfare. By depriving isolationists of their main argument, it is hoped that the Congress will thus be able to move faster over measures designed to help us.

Copy sent to War Cabinet, Defence Co-ord. R.A. 7.6.40.

65A-WS
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DECYPHER OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER,
OTTAWA.

Dated 28th May, 1940.

Lodged 3.29 p.m.

No.19.

Received 8.30 a.m.
29th May, 1940.

Following telegram has been sent by British
Purchasing Mission to United Kingdom Air Ministry (begins)

Have information that some executives of firm dis-
assembling Lockheed Hudsons are alleged to be pro-Nazi. We
are investigating the position and considering advisability
of making alternative arrangements. In the meantime suggest
all Hudsons recently sent from here should be most carefully
inspected (ends).

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

SECRET

CABLEGRAM.

3468.

DECYPHER FROM

Via Imp. 68/21 W. 40.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

DATED 21st May, 1940.
10.36 p.m.
RECEIVED 22nd May, 1940.

Circular B. 104.

SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister -

SWEDEN.

1. The Swedish Trade Delegation in Moscow is reported
been
to have met with unusual cordiality and assured that the Soviet
interest was the same as the Swedish - to keep the war from the
Baltic.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

2. According to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington,
while the opinion grows that the United States should give the
Allies all possible help short of direct military intervention,
there has been little reaction to the Argentine's suggestion that
the American States should adopt a non-belligerent attitude in
favour of the Allies.

Copy to - War Cabinet.
Dept. Def. Co-Ordn.
Dept. E.A.
22.5.40.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

3186.

Via Imp. CE 14 300/14.

DECYPHER FROM
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

DATED 13th May, 1940.

2.50 a.m.

RECEIVED 13th May, 1940.

Circular Telegram B.98.

S E C R E T.

Following for Prime Minister.

FRANCE.

1. Monsieur Reynaud's solution of the recent Cabinet crisis has been generally approved.

U.S.S.R.

2. My circular telegram B.82. According to His Majesty's Charge d'Affairs at Moscow, Soviet-Yugoslav Trade Agreement will probably be signed on 15th May.

U.S.A.

3. My circular telegram B.97. United States Government have instructed their representatives at the Hague and Brussels to protect British interests in any occupied parts of Belgium or Holland, with the qualification that they may not accept their Archives for custody. Subject to the same qualification they have promised to issue appropriate instructions to the United States Missions in Lithuania, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Sweden, Roumania Greece and Bulgaria.

SOUTH AMERICA.

4. The Argentine Government have decreed that for the duration of the war it will neither recognise transfers from one foreign flag to another nor legalize documents regarding transfers issued by a foreign power unless accompanied by a certificate issued by the diplomatic representative of the country concerned.

Sent to War Cab. Defence Co-ord.
E.A. 13.5.40.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

SECRET

CABLEGRAM.

3163.

Via Cable W 91

DECYPHER FROM

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

Sent 12th May, 1940

3.6 a.m.
Received 12th May, 1940.

Circular B.97.

S E C R E T.

Following for Prime Minister --

His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has been instructed to ask the United States Government if they will undertake the protection of British interests in occupied parts of Holland and Belgium. Since it is possible that any other country contiguous to Germany may suddenly be invaded by her, the United States Government are being asked to confirm that they are willing to take British interests in any country that may be invaded, and, if so, to authorise their representatives concerned to concert in advance with His Majesty's representative the necessary arrangements in the event of the United States Mission (a) remaining at the capital, or (b) evacuating if the Government concerned is to leave its capital.

Copy sent to War Cabinet.
Depts. External Affairs, Defence Co-ordination.

13/5/40

USA-WK
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

3137.

CABLEGRAM.

SECRET
3 176 via Cable 315/4

DECYPHER FROM

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,

LONDON.

Sent 11th May, 1940.

3.55 a.m.

Received 12th May, 1940.

Circular B.95.

SECRET.

Following for your Prime Minister --

SOVIET UNION.

1. His Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Moscow has been informed by the Soviet Commissariat of Foreign Affairs that the nationalization of private estates, banks and heavy industry in Western White Russia and Western Ukraine having been proclaimed by the National Assemblies of those regions in 1938 prior to incorporation in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the former owners have forfeited all rights to claim compensation since their property has been legally transferred to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

THAILAND.

2. According to the French Minister at Bangkok, the Japanese Government have again proposed offensive and defensive alliance with Thailand.

3. The French Government have agreed to the readjustment of the Mekong frontier and given the Minister at Bangkok full authority to sign a non-aggression pact.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

4. The State Department have instructed the United States Minister at Stockholm to refuse to take charge of British interests in certain eventualities if His Majesty's Legation archives includes Polish archives or effects. As similar difficulty might arise in case of His Majesty's missions in certain other neutral countries, which had been authorized to look after Polish archives in emergency, His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has been instructed to seek clarification of the

CABLEGRAM.

position from the State Department.

GUATEMALA.

5. My telegram Circular B.48. The position in the Treaty dispute is that delay may eventually result in Guatemalan acceptance of fundamentals of satisfactory solution. His Majesty's Minister in Guatemala has, however, been authorized to suggest, if he thinks expedient, the possibility of our considering a monetary payment which would fulfil the ultimate object of Article 7 (The increase of English commercial and material prosperity in Guatemala).

Copy sent to War Cabinet.
Dept. of Defence CoOrdination.
External Affairs.

ASA-WK
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

SECRET

CABLEGRAM.

2134.

DECYPHER FROM

W. 2 Via Cable CE 4/1

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

DATED 2nd April, 1940.

1.40 a.m.

RECEIVED 3rd April, 1940.

Circular B. 67.

SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

DENMARK.

Representative of Danish Foreign Office has indicated that the Danish Government may be forced to resign, unless they succeed in improving the position of Danish shipping, which has suffered from German attacks as a result of not joining convoys.

BALKANS.

While the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs feels sceptical of the present Italian attitude, the Romanian Minister for Foreign Affairs is confident that it indicates no change.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

As a result of conversations with State Department Officials, our economic delegation sees traces of inclination in the United States towards more positive economic and financial policy in favour of the Allies.

GUATEMALA.

Salvador has declared association with Guatemala in claim to British Honduras.

Copy War Cabinet.
Dept. Def. Co-Ordn.
Dept. E.A.
3.4.40.

(TELEPRINTED)

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

1942

DECYPHER FROM

Via Imp. 140

The Secretary of State
for Dominion Affairs,
LONDON.

DATED 22nd March, 1940.
1.49 a.m.

RECEIVED 22nd March, 1940.

CIRCULAR B. 61SECRET.FOLLOWING FOR THE PRIME MINISTER.PORTUGAL.

1. My telegram Circular B.53. Progress in negotiations with Portuguese Government for the purchase of trawlers is considered due to a genuine attempt on the part of Mr. Salazar to meet our wishes.

SOVIET UNION.

2. Tass have denied reports that Soviet Union does not object to the projected "defensive alliance" between Finland, Sweden and Norway.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

3. According to H.M. Ambassador at Washington the prospect of presidential election has forced a change in the attitude of the State Department which is now anxious to reach an agreement with us on all outstanding points.

JAPAN.

4. Japanese Economic Mission is to leave for Italy in April to return the 1938 visit of Fascist Missions.

5. H.M. Ambassador at Tokyo reports indications of a strong trend in favour of better relations with ourselves.

Cory War Cabinet.
Dept. Def. Co-Ordn.
Dept. E.A.
23.3.40.

USA - UK
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

1037.

SECRET

DECYPHER FROM

Imp. C 28.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS,
LONDON.

DATED 14th February, 1940.
10.12 p.m.
RECEIVED 15th February, 1940.

Circular B. 32.

SECRET.

Following for Prime Minister.

JAPAN.

1. Speeches in the House of Representatives suggest that criticism of Japanese policy in China appears less restrained than previously.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

2. My Circular B. 27 paragraph 5. His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has been instructed to acquaint the United States Under Secretary of State with our proposed terms of reference in the Mexican oil dispute in the hope that the United States Government may yet modify their own.

Copy War Cabinet.
Dept. Def.
Dept. E.A.
15.2.40.

USA. - UK.
PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM. Imp. 28/8 X 28

From the Secretary of State for
Dominion Affairs.

SECRET No. 774.
Sent 2nd February, 1940.
5.18 p.m.
Received 3rd February, 1940.

Circular B.23

SECRET.

Following for the Prime Minister.

EGYPT.

1. As concession to Egypt cotton interests we propose to allow very limited export of Egyptian cotton to those countries to which we have intended to stop all exports for the present.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

2. In conversation with Mr. Hull, H.M. Ambassador at Washington has pointed out :

- (1) The advantage to United States of America of the ships Navicert system, as a preventative of diversion and delay;
- (2) The fact that the stoppage of tobacco purchases is largely due to the heavy stocks already accumulated in England;
- (3) Increase in the United Kingdom purchases of United States goods since the war began;
- (4) The necessity for examining United States Mails caused by the overwhelming preponderance of parcels containing contraband.

Mr. Hull appeared to appreciate our position and expressed the personal hope that it would be possible to solve these and any similar problems in the future by friendly discussions rather than by exchange of notes.

JAPAN.

3. My circular telegram B.22. The Japanese Government now appear likely to agree to compromise. The contemplated settlement would probably involve the return of some of the

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

CABLEGRAM.

2.

Germans as quid pro quo for a general arrangement for the future.

Copy sent to:

War Cabinet
External Affairs
Defence Co-ordination.

3/2/40

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

368

CABLEGRAM.

DECYPHER FROM Secretary of State
for Dominion Affairs,
LONDON.

Cable 91/28 W.63
DATED 16th January, 1940.
9.48p.m.
RECEIVED 17th January, 1940.

Circular B.10. SECRET. Following for the
Prime Minister.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

(1) We have ordered from United States 50 Flying
boats, 120 fighters and 150 bombers.

SPAIN.

(2) My circular B. 420. A Franco-Spanish commercial
Agreement was initialled on 13th January,

JAPAN.

(3) Admiral Yonai has formed a Cabinet. He was an
opponent of military alliance with Germany. Arita, Minister
for Foreign Affairs is well known for anti-Soviet views and
was Minister for Foreign Affairs at signing of the Anti-
Comintern Pact with Germany and during the Tientsin crisis.

Copy War Cabinet
Defence
E.A. 17/1/40.

TELEGRAM FROM AUSTRALIAN COMMERCE - WASHINGTON.DATED - 23rd August, 1939.

36.

Personal for Hodgson. By telegram No. 35. News of the German-Soviet Agreement came as a great shock to public opinion and at first although comment was friendly and sympathetic, the inclination yesterday was to describe it as a diplomatic defeat of the first magnitude suffered by the United Kingdom Government. Later news, however, has led the press today to the belief that British-French-Polish resistance is unbroken and that the United Kingdom Government, even though tricked and possibly humiliated have rallied bravely. The tendency is, of course, to regard the situation as very desperate. So far as the Administration is concerned the informed belief is, for the moment anyway, that Congressional opposition to anything approaching intervention will be stiffened and that the United States should hold aloof. But any aggressive move by Germany might very rapidly change this attitude and from the first, as one paper put it, the nation will tend to associate with the Anglo-French side as otherwise it would be supporting the Axis.

OFFICIAL.

TELEGRAM FROM AUSTRALIAN COUNSELLOR - WASHINGTON.DATED 19th August, 1939.

33.

CONFIDENTIAL

Personal for Hodgson.

Your telegram No. 23. Generally prevailing view and attitude is quite different from that of a year ago when it was friendly but inclined to be critical of our policy. Now there is a very general belief in our steadily increasing strength both of arms and of purpose. Provided that we can maintain our present policy, we will have the very friendly support of the great majority of public opinion here. But public feeling is still against active intervention although many believe that it will not be possible to avoid it ultimately. There is still a strong isolationist feeling and the outbreak of hostilities would tend to stimulate it. On the whole, the public view the world situation as one problem and on the Atlantic side at all events do not regard the Far East as a distinct question. Except in certain interested circles in the West recent action regarding Japanese treaty has the support of public opinion but our difficulties are appreciated and there is little tendency to criticize us for not taking a stronger line.

The Administration's attitude is based on the above and is friendly and sympathetic and in the case of hostilities will probably go as far as the Neutrality Act permits, but it will be cautious not to give strength to the isolationists. I will try and augment this paragraph later.

OFFICER.

TELEGRAM FROM EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OFFICER, LONDON.

DATED 22nd June, 1939.

SECRET

253.

Secret. Tientsin. No answer yet from Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs as to British Ambassador at Tokyo's proposal (See my telegram 247) which suggests that a considerable struggle has been going on in Cabinet. The Cabinet considers (22nd June) that there is some prospect of the Japanese acceptance.

No alteration in the local situation. The United States Admiral who has now visited Tientsin has offered the Consul-General the use of American barracks there if that should be necessary which would probably have a restraining effect on the Japanese.

STIRLING.

Copies to:-

Prime Minister.
Minister E.A.
Captain Bracegirdle.
23.6.39.

DECODE OF CABLEGRAM.

FROM Secretary of State for Dominion
Affairs, LONDON.

DATED 4th May, 1933, 4.3 p.m.

RECEIVED 5th May, 1933.

Circular B.46.

Following is statement which Prime Minister proposes to make in the House of Commons this afternoon :--

"My conversations with President Roosevelt during the four days I was in Washington followed exactly on the lines which I indicated to this House during the debate on the adjournment on the thirteenth of last month. I was anxious, first of all, to ascertain the President's views upon the calling of the International Economic Conference, and, finding that we were in agreement, and, subsequently, that Monsieur Herriot shared our opinions, we communicated with the Organising Committee, and 12th June has been fixed for the meeting of the Conference.

We discussed in some detail, as I indicated in the speech to which I have referred, the subjects which were to be brought up at the Conference. These included the questions of tariffs, quotas, exchange controls and stability in national currencies; a tariff truce during the sittings of the Conference was also considered. Our purpose was to ascertain by intimate discussion what the prospects were of co-operation, not to come to definite agreements upon them. We both shared the view that our respective countries should enter the Conference, which is now to meet so soon, with hands completely untied. The result of these exchanges of views and examination of problems was most encouraging. In the controversy which has arisen with reference to the suggestion of a tariff truce, I had better say that I felt it to be my duty to point out how different is the position of a country like our ^{own} from that of those which are already high-tariff countries, with policies of economic defence already

/fully

DECODE OF CABLEGRAM.

FROM

DATED

RECEIVED

- 2 -

fully worked out and now in force. While I welcome the idea of a truce during the period of the conference, I made it plain that its application would have to be subject to safeguards which this difference in our position requires. This was considered to be reasonable.

I took an opportunity of putting before the President a fuller account of the British policy on disarmament, and as a result of our discussions we reached common views which have been reflected in effective co-operation between the British and American delegates in support of the draft convention now before the Disarmament Conference at Geneva.

We also discussed the question of debts and frankly examined the problem in all its aspects. These exchanges of views were of particular importance, as they brought out in well-defined detail what differences had to be reconciled, not only in a final settlement but in the immediate handling of the questions. On this subject I can make no fuller statement at present, as the matter has necessarily not yet reached the stage of agreement.

As for the visit as a whole, while I wish to convey no exaggerated impression, I would say with confidence that the mutual understanding between ourselves and the American Government has been materially improved by the discussions which I have had with the President, for whose friendly hospitality and unreserved helpfulness throughout all our deliberations, the warmest thanks of the Government are due."

5-5-33
Copy sent to H.E. Governor-General.

British Government's Representative.

5/5/33.

APR 10 1933

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

DECODE OF CABLEGRAM.

Pacific 5.19

FROM Secretary of State for Dominion
Affairs, LONDON.

DATED 7th April, 1933,
3.11 p.m.
RECEIVED 8th April, 1933.

Circular B.42:

The Prime Minister has received an invitation from the President of the United States of America to visit Washington to discuss the preparations for the World Economic Conference and the need for making further progress towards practical disarmament.

The Prime Minister has replied cordially accepting the invitation, and stating that he proposes to leave England by the "Berengaria" on 15th April, and to return by the same ship.

Copy sent to H.E. Governor-General.
British Government's Representative.

10 APR. 1933

8/4/33.

PRIME MINISTER'S DEPARTMENT.

13
DECODE OF CABLEGRAM.

Via Pac. 41.

FROM

Secretary of State for Dominion
Affairs, LONDON.

DATED 1st June, 1932, 10.10 P

RECEIVED 2nd June, 1932.

Circular D.12.

Following statement is being made by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in reply to question in Parliament this afternoon, Wednesday:--

"Within the last few days conversations have taken place between His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States on the suggestion that an International Economic Conference should be called to consider methods to stabilise world commodity prices. The matter has not advanced beyond an informal and entirely preliminary stage - so much so that an opportunity of consulting the other Governments chiefly concerned has not yet arisen. It has to be remembered that the terms of reference for the Conference at Lausanne include amongst the objects to be sought not only a settlement of reparations but agreement on measures necessary to solve other economic and financial difficulties which are responsible for and may prolong the present world crisis. Unless, therefore, the United States send representatives to the second part of the Lausanne Conference there is danger of overlapping, and the question of time and place would remain to be considered even if a yet further conference were decided on. At the same time the importance of United States co-operation in such a discussion is so great that His Majesty's Government are losing no time in consulting the other Governments who will be assembled at Lausanne as to the suggestion which has been made."

Further telegram will follow.

1/2
- 3 - JUNE 1932
External Affairs.

Copy sent to H.E. Governor-General & Brit. Govt's Repve.

1/JS
R/S with
Hh

COPY OF CABLEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION
AFFAIRS, DATED LONDON, 4th MAY, 1933.

Circular B.46.

Following is statement which Prime Minister
proposes to make in the House of Commons this afternoon:-

"My conversations with President Roosevelt during
the four days I was in Washington followed exactly on the
lines which I indicated to this House during the debate on
the adjournment on the thirteenth of last month. I was
anxious, first of all, to ascertain the President's views
upon the calling of the International Economic Conference,
and, finding that we were in agreement, and, subsequently,
that Monsieur Herriot shared our opinions, we communicated
with the Organising Committee, and 12th June has been fixed
for the meeting of the Conference. We discussed in some
detail, as I indicated in the speech to which I have referred,
the subjects which were to be brought up at the Conference.
These included the questions of tariffs, quotas, exchange
controls and stability in national currencies; a tariff
truce during the sittings of the Conference was also con-
sidered. Our purpose was to ascertain by intimate dis-
cussion what the prospects were of co-operation, not to come
to definite agreements upon them. We both shared the view
that our respective countries should enter the Conference,
which is now to meet so soon, with hands completely untied.
The result of these exchanges of views and examination of
problems was most encouraging. In the controversy which has
arisen with reference to the suggestion of a tariff truce,
I had better say that I felt it to be my duty to point out
how different is the position of a country like our own from
that of those which are already high-tariff countries, with
policies of economic defence already fully worked out and now
in force. While I welcome the idea of a truce during the
/period

he has fallen
untied

No. _____

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

Subject: Anglo - Soviet Negotiations.

5009.

Anglo - Soviet neg

NORTH AMERICA.

October

CONFIDENTIAL.

[A 4485/605/45]

Viscount Halifax to the Marquess of Lothian (W)

(No. 773.)

My Lord Marquess,

Foreign Office, Oct

THE United States Ambassador called to see me to-day to had decided to return home to the United States the week after up his post as Ambassador here. Mr. Kennedy seemed very much with the United States Government and with the President. complaint being that they had not kept him adequately informed and doings during the last two or three months. Indeed, he said, I been for what he had learnt in London, he would have known nothing was going on. He told me that he had sent an article to the United appear on the 1st November, if by any accident he was not able to get would be of considerable importance appearing five days before the election. When I asked him what would be the main burden of his me to understand that it would be an indictment of President administration for having talked a lot and done very little. He is plainly disappointed and rather embittered man.

2. I did what I could to soothe his feelings and gave him such information as we had about the main developments at the present time. In the course of this general conversation the Ambassador told me that, before leaving, he had to have the opportunity of some discussion with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his advisers as to the wisest way of handling the financial questions that were likely to shortly arise between us and the United States. He also told me that an American military observer in non-occupied France had reported an improvement of feeling between the Germans and the French. I said that this was not at all information, which, on the contrary, gave grounds for supposing that the French people in both parts of France were realising that the armistice had been based upon two essentially illusory assumptions. These had been, first, that British resistance would be broken in the same way as the French; and, second, that the Germans would be willing to make a reasonable accommodation with the French Government.

I am, &c.

HALIFAX.

[10-27]

NORTH AMERICA.

September 26, 1940.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[A 4338/131/45]

Copy No.

037

Viscount Halifax to the Marquess of Lothian (Washington).

(No. 753.)

My Lord Marquess,

Foreign Office, September 26, 1940.

THE United States Ambassador called to see me this afternoon and we had a general talk about the principal matters of the moment. The Ambassador asked me what my feeling was about Spain and I said that from such information as I had I regarded the situation there as difficult and perhaps anxious but by no means without hope. I thought there were very many powerful elements in Spain who were strongly opposed to the presumed policy of Señor Suñer and who wished to keep Spain out of the war.

2. I told the Ambassador that we were considering the question of the Burma Road, on which your Lordship had already had some discussion with the State Department. So far as I could judge, the feeling of the United States Government would be in favour of reopening the road, but I thought we should be glad to know definitely if we could, before reaching a decision, what would be the attitude of the United States Government.

3. The Ambassador also asked about Turkey, in regard to which I reassured him by saying that I thought the Turkish Government were not anxious to take any action that would increase the chances of involving them in war with either Italy or Germany, but that I had no reason to think that they would not stand up for their own vital interests if these were directly threatened.

4. The Ambassador did not believe that Hitler was likely to try and invade this country, but thought it much more likely that he would make for North Africa or Egypt or both. He repeated the view that he has more than once expressed to me that his country was slow to realise that words and sentiments were no match in these days for the positive elements of strength, and had a good deal to say about the slowness of the United States to recognise the real position. His argument was somewhat discursive and at times contradictory. He thought it would be a disaster for the United States to be involved in war, but said at the same time that the real drive in production would never be obtained unless she was, and in his judgment it was essential that this real drive should be obtained as quickly as possible.

5. I told Mr. Kennedy that, whatever there might be to be said on this side of the matter, I thought that both he and his countrymen had to make up their minds what was really at stake in the struggle and what the alternatives were with which the people of the United States were faced. I told him that, while the people of the United States could alone decide their action, I could have no doubt that the decision of the United States openly to rank itself with us in war against Germany and Italy would have a profound effect upon the psychology of the enemy peoples. These would at once recognise that the entry of the United States meant the disappearance of any hopes of an early peace and the effect on the internal position of both enemy countries might be very great. With this Mr. Kennedy agreed.

I am, &c.

HALIFAX.

[9-62]

NORTH AMERICA.

July 5, 1939.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[A 4650/27/45]

Copy No. 037

Sir R. Lindsay to Viscount Halifax.—(Received July 5.)

(No. 702.)

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Washington presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and, with reference to Washington despatch No. 677 of the 20th June, 1939, has the honour to transmit to him a copy of San Francisco despatch No. 121, dated the 12th June, and Los Angeles despatch No. 98, dated the 14th June, 1939, respecting press comments on the Royal visit.

Washington, June 22, 1939.

Enclosure 1.

Consul-General Butler to Sir R. Lindsay.

(No. 121.)

Sir,

San Francisco, June 12, 1939.

JUDGING from the numerous comments which have appeared in the local press, the charm and simplicity of their Majesties The King and Queen have made a deep impression upon the American public, and it is generally admitted that the visit should have excellent results in improving Anglo-American relations.

2. It is, however, probably correct to say that a note of reserve is present in most of the press references, and there has been a rather ungracious tendency to remind both the American and British peoples that the cordial and friendly welcome extended to their Majesties must not be interpreted as implying that the United States is prepared to lend active support to Great Britain in her international relations. In fact, the isolationist tendencies of this country have perhaps received more than usual emphasis during the past few days. Frequent suggestions have also been made that the present British predicament makes American support of vital necessity, and that this is the cause underlying the Royal visit.

3. The editorials in the Hearst press were, as might be expected, in the worst taste, and in one instance took the form of a sermon, outlining the means by which Great Britain might hope to retain American friendship and Canadian loyalty. These means are described as "the bending of British efforts towards sparing European civilisation the disaster of war, bringing about a permanent European peace and ending aggression and persecution." At the same time, there is a clear inference that American assistance must not be counted upon in the attainment of these ends. In recent months the Hearst press has constituted itself the interpreter of Canadian as well as American opinion, which it prefers to represent as adverse to participation in any war rising out of European issues.

4. Affection for England and its Royal House is probably more general on the Pacific coast than elsewhere in the United States, but it must be admitted that civic pride and a desire to secure publicity for the Golden Gate Exposition may have played their part in the invitations to visit San Francisco which were extended to their Majesties. Their inability to make this visit, though one may hope that the reasons were fully understood, undoubtedly caused disappointment, particularly among the large community of British origin.

I have, &c.

P. D. BUTLER.

[662 e-1]

Enclosure 2.

Acting Consul Holliday to Sir R. Lindsay.

(No. 98.)

Sir,

Los Angeles, June 14, 1939.

I HAVE the honour to report that in general the impression created by the visit of their Majesties The King and Queen has been in most respects similar to that described in San Francisco despatch No. 121 of the 12th June. There has been the same tendency for the Hearst press to see in the visit a further example of insidious British propaganda and the same disappointment that a wider tour embracing Southern California had not been arranged.

2. It was, however, easily noticeable and most gratifying that opinion both in the press and as personally expressed became much more friendly once the first reports appeared of their Majesties' warm welcome from the populace at Washington than it had been throughout the Canadian tour. The informality which their Majesties contrived to inject into the most formal occasions was a source of wonderment and surprised delight, and I feel sure that were any members of the Royal House to visit Southern California a spontaneous and generous welcome would await them.

I have, &c.

L. G. HOLLIDAY.

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

NORTH AMERICA.

June 27, 1939.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 4.

[A 4441/27/45]

Copy No.

063

Sir R. Lindsay to Viscount Halifax.—(Received June 27.)

(No. 677.)

My Lord,

Washington, June 20, 1939.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 255 of the 12th June, I have the honour to submit the following report on the reactions of the United States press to the visit of their Majesties The King and Queen to this country :—

2. It can be said at once that their Majesties' personalities were the subject of the warmest admiration in all parts of the country. Day by day their tour of Canada had been reported in the utmost detail, and by the time their Majesties crossed into the United States their personal welcome was more assured than ever. Editorial comment, however, did not limit itself to considering their Majesties as individuals. The *New York Times*, which in May had reminded its readers that "a more than ceremonial welcome to George and Elizabeth need imply no acceptance of any item in British policy and no abdication of the right to criticise such policy," reminded them on the day of their Majesties' arrival that The King "represents all the people of England—not merely Mr. Chamberlain or Parliament," and went on to ask: "What can all the people of England say to us? They can say, regardless of party, that they want no war, intend to commit no aggression, desire to maintain free institutions within their boundaries, and look to us for such sympathy and such help as are consistent with our own interests and our own traditions. The Royal visit carries this message to us. What can we say in return? The least, surely, is that we stand together on fundamentals, whatever our opinions as to transient policies. . . . The mass of us, on both sides of the water, stand firm in our longing for a world in which there shall be assurance of peace and in which the spirit of man shall have room to grow towards a creative freedom." As their Majesties visited New York, the newspaper recalled how Sir Guy Carleton had handed over the keys of the city as he embarked in 1783 at the Battery where their Majesties were to land. "So history completes, not a cycle but a fortunate spiral. . . . In a different and happier sense we give them back to George and Elizabeth. We hope . . . that this New York will remain a pleasant memory in the minds of the two who were once Duke and Duchess of an older York." Summing up the visit of the 12th June, the newspaper said: "To us, our welcome to the Royal visitors was a perfectly normal and spontaneous expression of American goodwill and hospitality. That is the way we do things here. To be sure, the welcome might have been less heart-felt if The King and Queen had not proved themselves such charming and tactful guests. It was partly curiosity, no doubt, which brought out the vast New York crowds. But it was a genuine tribute nevertheless, and as much to the British people as to their Sovereigns. We like the British because we understand them better than most foreigners. And, after all, why shouldn't we? They gave us our speech, our manners and customs, and, after a little persuasion by the continental army, our country itself." In conclusion, on the following day, the *New York Times* referred to Bishop Manning's prayer for strength for the bonds of fellowship between America and Great Britain, and for help toward brotherhood and right and peace among all nations, and expressed the belief that "millions will be making like prayer in varied form and even without words in the unuttered wish of their hearts."

3. Other editorial comment in New York was in similar vein. As The King and Queen crossed the border, "the bonds of language, of history, of basic institutions," said the *New York Herald-Tribune*, "are too fundamental and enduring to be ignored in the presence of so friendly a gesture. . . . A warm personal greeting, of admiration and liking, seems certain, therefore, to wait their Majesties in this republic of ours. May their stay on this alien but friendly

[637 dd—4]

soil be as happy and cloudless as every American will wish it to be!" After their Majesties' visit to New York, this newspaper wrote: "For sheer numbers the turnout was unprecedented. Similarly, we can recall no parallel for the steady warmth of the greetings. . . . With goodwill and generosity, by Governments and by individuals, a staunch structure of common aims may be built which could mean more for peace and justice than any formal alliance ever written."

4. In Washington, the only other city which their Majesties visited, the press devoted whole columns to every detail. On the day of their arrival, the *Washington Post* remarked that the visit would subtly strengthen the growing determination of the American people "to have the United States play a truly constructive rôle in this difficult era, to exert positive leadership, and to fulfil all the responsibilities which, in national as in individual life, are an inescapable concomitant of power. . . . Washington understands how much the British tradition means in a period when there is serious threat to the ideals which the two countries hold in common." When their Majesties had left for New York, this newspaper wrote: "To say that The King and Queen were received here with open arms would be an understatement. It was into the hearts of the population that they were taken, and taken without reservation." Of the more lasting effects of the visit it wrote: "There is no desire and there is no need for any alliance between Great Britain and the United States. . . . But there is both desire and need for people whose interests and ideals are largely identical to work and think and live co-operatively. . . . As fellow pilgrims on that uphill road where all of us are jumbled, The King and Queen have passed through Washington. The brief commingling has been good for them and good for us." Even the *Washington Times-Herald*, a newspaper on which the manner of its erstwhile owner, Mr. Hearst, still lies heavy, and which in May had warned its readers, "while warmly welcoming The King and Queen, that it is really Mr. Chamberlain who is visiting us; and let's keep clearly in mind what he wants to sell us," managed to end its editorial on their Majesties' arrival with: "So welcome again, your Majesties. Americans are cousins of the British—though not brothers. . . . They are likewise friends of the British and want to remain so—though they don't want to be British allies."

5. Eastern newspapers outside New York and Washington seem to have shown no such reservations. The Boston press, despite the large Irish and Italian element among its readers, expressed the most hearty welcome. It would be wearisome to quote textually from the many forms of words employed, but the following summing-up from the *Boston Herald* of the 12th June, is a sample: "Americans acclaimed George and Elizabeth not only because of affection and regard for them, but because they are representatives of a democracy which, with all its shortcomings, is the greatest factor on the planet for civilisation, peace, decency and the rule of law." When the visit was over, the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote: "Family bickering is sometimes unlovely, and so it has occasionally been with Britain and America. But now a fine thing has happened. The King and Queen of England have been this way, and the old bond between the democracies has taken on higher, warmer, yes, friendlier qualities than it ever had before." The *Philadelphia Inquirer and Public Ledger*, a newspaper normally rather critical of His Majesty's Government, maintained a sceptical attitude before their Majesties arrived. On the 21st May, having warned its readers that the Royal visitors were "presumably not coming to the United States for their health nor to study our quaint customs," but that their visit marked "the ultimate . . . in a system of propaganda which is without equal anywhere," it none the less said: "World conditions being as they are, it is well for the two great English-speaking democracies to be on cordial terms. Having no illusions about this visit, the American people can be glad to greet the Royal pair with hearty good wishes." As their Majesties departed, the newspaper wrote: "The general disposition of the American people was to accept this visit of the Royal pair at its face value as a kindly call of courtesy from the representatives of a great and friendly nation—no more, no less." On the 8th June the *Baltimore Sun* pointed out: "The visit originated in friendliness and the confirmation of friendship is its sole aim. His Majesty comes to these shores neither to deliver nor to hear demands. . . . His object is to combine not the fighting strength but the good faith and the goodwill of two strong nations. . . . As long as he stands for peace and freedom, we stand

together, right heartily adding our 'Amen!' when his subjects shout: 'God Save The King!' " Again, four days later, the *Baltimore Sun* observed: "The fact that millions of Americans have lately decided that The King of England is, on the whole, a remarkably nice fellow has no real bearing on our relations with the British Empire, but it may be highly important, nevertheless, because it may do much to counteract irrational prejudice."

6. A striking feature has been the warmth of the welcome extended to their Majesties by newspapers in the traditionally isolationist Middle West—in St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, Des Moines, Indianapolis and Milwaukee. The *Des Moines Register*, for example, observing that their Majesties had had "a success surpassing even the fondest hopes of the British Government," wrote: "For, after all, the purpose of the visit has been utterly clear to everyone from the first. And we have never quite been able to discern why there should be anything sinister or immoral about the anxiety of one nation to weld its bonds of friendship and mutual interest with another. Did the American people presume we were 'putting something over' on someone, for example, when President Roosevelt went to Panamá for a cruise or to Canada to make a friendly address? . . . To imagine that this inescapable spiritual association offers all of its advantages to the British people, and none to us, is simply to be unaware of the kind of world in which we must live henceforth." Likewise, the *Indianapolis Star* of the same date wrote: "The United States hopes to remain aloof from foreign war, but it has a vital interest in the construction of Britain's 'peace front.' Britain's programme for maintaining democracy wherever possible accords with American desires." From the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* of the 13th June another sample may be taken: "We need no Washington-London axis, nor is such contemplated. We have something better—a mutual understanding of aims and ideals. To this significant understanding King George and his gracious Queen have just made a substantial contribution." "They are here," said the *Omaha World Herald* of the 9th June, "not for pleasure, but to perform a mission. That mission is to improve the friendly ties between the empire and the republic. Every true American will wish them success." More cautious and isolationist, the *Milwaukee Journal* of the 12th June observed: "Everything has been so pleasant and everybody so happy about it that now it is distinctly disturbing to have to come down from the heights of hospitality to warn those who try to read into this visit more than it means or could mean. . . . No one has heard any comment that this visit has any effect at all on our views of European relations." Most isolationist of all throughout has been the *Chicago Tribune*. Intense hostility to Mr. Roosevelt has led it ever since his invitation to their Majesties was announced to pour cold water whenever possible on a presidential gesture that seemed likely to be popular. In its news reporting—admittedly ample—as in its cartoons, it missed no opportunity for suggesting that the object of their Majesties' visit was to inveigle the United States out of isolation, or at least, with the President's help, to make the dictators think they had succeeded. It ridiculed those who attended the various ceremonies in Washington—"the true crown colony representatives of the Atlantic seaboard"—and remarked: "If the clumsy homage of the New Dealers opens the way for the betrayal of their own country, the Empire may think the results well worth the shock. What has been accomplished by the efforts of The King? We'll know more about that when Congress reveals the effects, whether it has been softened . . . or made tougher. If it scraps the Neutrality Act and gives Mr. Roosevelt the authority he wants to pick sides and give aid, Mr. Chamberlain will think very well of his *coup d'Etat*."

7. The press of the Pacific coast, cutting from which has just reached me, shows no real change from the cordiality of the rest, and, indeed, there seems no reason to suppose that any other newspaper of importance has adopted such an attitude as the *Chicago Tribune*. The trend, indeed, has been strongly the other way. Most papers, no doubt, have thought it wise to remind their readers, at some stage in the matter, that foreign entanglements were still undesirable, but most of these also had the honesty to add that none were being suggested. Except for the *San Francisco Examiner*, whose comments were isolationist but inoffensive, the Hearst press, relatively unimportant though it now is except on the West coast, appears to have taken refuge from an obviously popular fact by avoiding comment on it altogether. If the *New York World Telegram* can be taken as a guide, the following extracts will give an idea of the by no means unfriendly

attitude of the Scripps-Howard newspapers: *May 20*.—"We've got company coming. And it doesn't look like any treat to them. So let's act as hosts should, and not as if we were afraid they might go south with the silverware."

June 8.—"Our nation to-day welcomes King George and Queen Elizabeth. They are greeted by the American people not merely as representatives of another great democracy, or as Royalty, but as two great human beings who have won that distinction in their own right. . . . We like them; and we hope they like us."

June 12.—"We said we liked them, much, when they came, and hoped they would like us. We like them even better after watching them take the hurdles of our hospitality. No matter what our future opinions may be about the British Empire . . . there will be forever only deep affection for the charming pair who visited us, smilin' through."

8. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Ottawa.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

NORTH AMERICA.

June 27, 1939.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 5.

[A 4443/27/45]

Copy No. 063

Sir R. Lindsay to Viscount Halifax.—(Received June 27.)

(No. 679.)

My Lord,

Washington, June 20, 1939.

I HAVE the honour to submit some general observations on the visit of their Majesties to the United States.

2. It is my understanding that, when the Royal visit to this continent was first thought of, its political effects as regards the United States were hardly in the mind of those who considered the question. Certainly the first this embassy heard of the project was the announcement in the press that a visit to Canada had been decided on. Once that journey had been settled, its extension to the United States was inevitable, for the President could not, without discourtesy, fail to invite their Majesties once they were in Canada. (In point of fact, on the strength of advance private information, he actually did invite them before the public announcement of the visit to Canada was made.) Nor could their Majesties conceivably decline such an invitation. From the first moment, therefore, the visit to America presented itself before the public of this country as a perfectly natural event, following logically on other circumstances. In no other conditions could it, from the first moment of its public mention, have met in advance with the cordial welcome with which it was greeted immediately, or carried the promise of success which it eventually realised. In other conditions it would have been regarded with suspicion by an America, which is convinced of the imminence of a world war, determined to remain neutral when it comes, and deeply resentful of any efforts to entangle it in the threatened disaster. Such a suspicion would have introduced an unpleasant element into the visit, and would unfailingly have impaired its prospects.

3. The doubts as to whether circumstances would allow their Majesties to start at all, their eventual sailing, and their gradual approach towards this hemisphere all increased popular interest in the visit. Once their Majesties landed in Canada, their progress across the Dominion engrossed the attention of the public almost to the exclusion of all other events. Everything reported of them, their friendly and unaffected ways, the manner in which they were lost in a crowd of ex-servicemen, their willingness to see the Dionne quintuplets, every action they took tended to show that they were real human beings, as well as Sovereigns, and predisposed the American public to accord them the heartiest possible welcome.

4. The success of the visit was thus assured from the very first moment. No one had doubted that the American sense of obligation towards a guest would fail, or that the public would receive The King and Queen otherwise than with enthusiasm. Many, it is true (but not myself), had feared that some incident or *contretemps* of a blatant character might occur and mar the visit, and regretted that the responsibility of arranging the visit had been assumed at all. In the outcome no gloomy anticipations were realised, and all the most sanguine hopes were far surpassed. The visit went with a roar from the first moment. It is said that on the first day in Washington more than half a million people saw The King and Queen at fairly close quarters, whose appearance, charm and simple and unaffected graciousness instantly won all hearts. That the arrangements made worked well, or that the weather, though exhaustingly hot, spared us its worst horrors, counted for nothing, and receives no attention from us when we talk the visit over now; the plain fact is that the whole business was an immense personal triumph for their Majesties, and this fact is recognised, not only in Washington and New York where they were seen, but throughout the length and breadth of the whole country.

5. As regards the results of the visit, I should wish to quote from a private letter which I received three or four days ago from Mr. Henry Stimson, who was

[637 dd—5]

Secretary of State in Mr. Hoover's Administration, a personal friend of my own and a man entirely devoted to the cause of Anglo-American friendship. He writes:—

"I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the success of the whole trip; I have neither heard nor read of a single jarring note. They have carried away the hearts of our people, and the trip will have a quiet, solid influence towards a good understanding on both sides of the Atlantic which can hardly be overestimated. You can feel solid satisfaction in a great achievement of lasting good to both our countries."

Mr. Stimson is a wise and prudent man, and his first anxiety is clearly that we should not overestimate the effects of the visit; and, indeed, nothing would be more dangerous than that His Majesty's Government should imagine that they had America politically "in the bag." That, however, does not detract from the great importance of the results coming from the visit. Relations between the United States and Great Britain are governed by psychological factors and by emotions far more than those between any other two countries, and the emotions have been stirred to their very roots. Americans feel a kind of proprietary interest in the best British institutions, and especially in the monarchy. They have always been predisposed to think the best of our two present Sovereigns, and at a critical moment in history they have been given an opportunity to see them in person, and to ascertain for themselves that, however high an opinion they may have formed of The King and Queen, the lady and the gentleman deserve even higher esteem. His late Majesty King George V, by his quiet wisdom and his personal virtues, came to command in America a respect and prestige which were a real political asset for the Empire which he governed. It is possible that such a position as he attained to in American opinion could only be reached in the course of years, but I believe that, as a result of the visit, their present Majesties may already have attained to a position equally high, though of a slightly different character. All Americans to-day feel closer to the Empire than they did a fortnight ago, and this cannot fail to be of immense importance.

6. Though the politics of Anglo-American relations were not the primary purpose of the Royal visit, it is not to be denied that it does have great political significance, and this is frankly and fairly recognised by nearly all the chief papers in this country (see report on the press in my despatch No. 677 of the 20th June). Only the *Chicago Tribune* and a few minor columnists have indulged in unfair sneers or taunts of propaganda. The truth is that the impression their Majesties have created has been deep and has extended to the broadest strata of the population of America. In the event of a very grave crisis, this might have decisive results, but it is far less certain that it will materially influence that minority of the Senate who are opposing the amendments of the Neutrality Law desired by the Administration. It should, however, surely have the effect of making it more difficult for those gentlemen to maintain their resistance if the forces of the Administration have the courage and strength to fight strongly.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

NORTH AMERICA.

June 27, 1939.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 6.

[A 4437/27/45]

Copy No. 037

Sir R. Lindsay to Viscount Halifax.—(Received June 27.)

(No. 663.)

My Lord,

Washington, June 16, 1939.

I HAVE the honour, with reference to my telegram No. 255 of the 12th June, to furnish the following report on the visit which their Majesties The King and Queen paid to this country from the 7th June to the 11th June as the guests of the United States Government.

2. Their Majesties arrived from Canada at 9.35 p.m. on the 7th June at the Suspension Bridge Station, Niagara Falls, New York, and were welcomed by the Secretary of State and Mrs. Hull and myself. The Hon. George T. Summerlin, the Chief of Protocol at the State Department, Major-General Hugh A. Drum, United States army, and Rear-Admiral James C. Richardson, United States navy, who were to be specially attached to their Majesties during the visit, were also present, together with certain members of the State Department and the naval, military and air attachés at His Majesty's Embassy. The King and Queen were accompanied by the following suite:—

Lady Nunburnholme (Lady-in-Waiting).

Lady Katharine Seymour (Lady-in-Waiting).

The Right Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King (Prime Minister of Canada, Minister in Attendance).

The Earl of Eldon (Lord-in-Waiting to The King).

The Earl of Airlie (Lord Chamberlain to The Queen).

Sir Alan Lascelles (Acting Private Secretary to The King).

Surgeon Captain Henry White, R.N. (Medical Officer).

Mr. George F. Steward (Chief Press Liaison Officer).

Captain Michael Adeane (Assistant Private Secretary to The King).

Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Piers W. Legh (Equerry to The King).

Commander E. M. C. Abel-Smith, R.N. (Equerry to The King).

Mr. A. D. P. Heeney (Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister of Canada).

In addition, Dr. E. H. Coleman, chairman of the Canadian Interdepartmental Committee on the Royal Visit, Major Gustave Lanctot, Canadian Government Archivist, Dr. H. L. Keenleyside, Secretary of the Canadian Interdepartmental Committee, and Mr. W. J. Turnbull, Canadian Government Press Liaison Officer, accompanied the party to the United States, but not as members of their Majesties' suite.

3. The arrival at Niagara Falls was informal, and after a brief ceremony, during which I presented Mr. and Mrs. Hull to their Majesties, the Secretary of State, in turn, presented the various American officials and His Majesty inspected a small guard of honour, the Royal train left for the south.

4. The Royal train stopped for a few minutes at 10 a.m. on the following morning at Baltimore to enable the presidents of the four railways—Pennsylvania, New York Central, New York, New Haven and Hartford, and Delaware and Hudson—over which the Royal train was to run during the visit to the United States, to be presented to their Majesties. The Royal train then proceeded to Washington, which was reached at 11 a.m. Throughout this journey, both late at night and early in the morning, people assembled in numbers at stations, road crossings, and even in the fields, to see the Royal train pass and wave a greeting to the visitors.

5. At Washington their Majesties were escorted to the presidential reception room at the Union Station through a double line of marines by the Secretary of State, Mrs. Hull and myself, and on entering the room were warmly greeted by the President and Mrs. Roosevelt. After the members of the Royal suite had been presented to the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, the Vice-President and Mrs. Garner, the Speaker and Mrs. Bankhead, the members of the Cabinet

[637 dd—6]

B

and their wives, the Chairmen of the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees of the Senate and the House and their wives, the Chief of Staff and Mrs. Craig, the Chief of Naval Operations and Mrs. Leahy, the Commandant of the Marine Corps and Mrs. Holcomb, the Under-Secretary of State and Mrs. Welles, and the Counsellor of the Department of State were presented to The King and Queen by the President. Lady Lindsay, the members of the embassy staff and their wives and His Majesty's Consul in Washington were then presented by myself. The Prime Minister of Canada presented Lady Marler and the members of the staff of the Canadian Legation and their wives, Lord Eldon presented the South African Minister and Mrs. Close, and Mr. Close then presented the members of his own staff and their wives. Finally, Lord Eldon presented the Secretary of the Irish Legation and Mrs. Healy.

6. The Canadian Minister was unfortunately prevented by illness at the last moment from being present at the station, and was, indeed, unable to attend any of the ceremonies during the visit. Mr. Brennan, the Irish Minister, was absent from Washington on an official tour to the West Coast during the whole period of the visit, but, as indicated above, the Irish Legation were represented at the station by the secretary, Mr. Healy. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was also prevented by illness from being present at the station.

7. After these presentations had been completed, The King and Queen, together with the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, proceeded to the main entrance to the station, where, on emerging, they were greeted by a salute from a guard of honour by the firing of twenty-one guns and by the playing of the two national anthems. After these honours had been rendered, their Majesties, accompanied by the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, entered open motor cars and, followed by the members of their suite, Lady Lindsay and myself, the Dominion representatives and certain American officials, proceeded in procession with a cavalry escort to the White House, passing by the Capitol and proceeding along Constitution Avenue, Pennsylvania Avenue, Treasury Place and East Executive Avenue. The order of the procession is shown in enclosure 1.⁽¹⁾

8. Very large crowds were massed in the open space outside Union Station and along the processional route, and their Majesties were everywhere enthusiastically received. The streets were lined with troops and police, but the procession proceeded at a walking pace and the crowds had every opportunity of obtaining an excellent view of their Majesties. According to the newspapers and competent observers such as General Watson, the President's A.D.C., who sat in the first motor car, such a large crowd had seldom, if ever, been seen before in Washington, and certainly no visitors had ever had such an enthusiastic reception. The procession itself, with the detachments of cavalry and tanks, and escorted by aircraft, was most impressive, and the extreme heat seemed to have no effect on the enthusiasm of the spectators.

9. Immediately after their arrival at the White House The King and Queen received the heads of Diplomatic Missions in Washington, together with their wives, the former being presented by myself, as doyen of the Corps diplomatique, and the latter by Lady Lindsay. Their Majesties lunched privately with the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, and in the afternoon were taken for an informal sightseeing motor drive round Washington accompanied by the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, myself and certain members of the Royal suite.

10. Later in the afternoon The King and Queen honoured Lady Lindsay and myself with their presence at a garden party at His Majesty's Embassy, to which some 1,500 guests from Washington and other parts of the country had accepted invitations. During their stay at the garden party it was possible to present to their Majesties a considerable number of the more important guests, both official and non-official. On their way to the embassy their Majesties had driven from the White House via Pennsylvania Avenue and Massachusetts Avenue, and they returned by the same route. On both journeys they were enthusiastically received by very large crowds in the streets. They received a particularly warm welcome from a body of boy scouts and girl scouts who had been assembled in the White House grounds.

11. In the evening the President and Mrs. Roosevelt gave a banquet at the White House in their Majesties' honour. A list of the persons present at this dinner will be found in the programme forwarded as enclosure 2⁽¹⁾ to this

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

despatch. I also transmit to your Lordship the text of the speeches in which His Majesty and the President proposed each other's health. They will be found in enclosure 3 to this despatch. The dinner was followed by a musical entertainment to which some 200 or 300 additional guests were invited.

12. At 10.15 on the following morning, the 9th June, their Majesties attended a gathering of the local British community in the garden of His Majesty's Embassy. A guard of honour of some 200 ex-servicemen was first inspected by The King, then certain consular officers and their wives from neighbouring posts such as Philadelphia and Baltimore, and even from more distant places such as Detroit, Jacksonville and Miami, were presented. Dr. Hutchinson, an American citizen who won the Victoria Cross while serving with the Canadian forces during the war, was also presented, together with some members of the clerical staff of the embassy and of the South African and Canadian Legations. Their Majesties then spoke to the representatives of different Anglo-American societies in Washington and Baltimore, such as the English-Speaking Union, the Daughters of Scotia and the St. David's Society. Finally, The King and Queen walked round the assembled group of British subjects, of whom rather more than 1,000 were present. Their Majesties were given a most enthusiastic reception by those present in the garden, and also by the crowds which gathered outside the embassy and along the route followed by the Royal motor car.

13. On leaving the embassy, The King and Queen, accompanied by certain members of their suite, Lady Lindsay and myself, and the counsellor of this embassy and Mrs. Mallet, motored to the Capitol, where they were received by a reception committee of three Senators, headed by Senator Pittman, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and three Representatives, headed by Mr. Sol Bloom, the acting chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Escorted by this committee, their Majesties entered the Rotunda, where first the Senators and then the members of the House of Representatives were individually presented to them. There was a very large attendance of Congressmen, who gave their Majesties a very warm welcome. The wives and families of the Congressmen had been grouped outside the Capitol on the steps, and these persons in turn gave The King and Queen a very cordial reception when they emerged from the Capitol.

14. From the Capitol The King and Queen motored to the Navy Yard, where they were welcomed by the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, and embarked on the presidential yacht, the U.S.S. *Potomac*. The yacht—incidentally providing the unique sight of both the Royal Standard and the President's personal flag being flown simultaneously—then sailed down the Potomac to Mount Vernon, luncheon being taken *en route*. The list of guests present on board will be found in enclosure 2⁽¹⁾ to this despatch.

15. On arrival at Mount Vernon His Majesty laid a wreath on the tomb of George Washington. Subsequently, the lady Regents who are responsible for the administration of Mount Vernon were presented to their Majesties, who then made a tour of the house and grounds, leaving at 2.30 P.M. for the nearby Civilian Conservation Corps camp at Fort Hunt. After inspecting the camp and talking to several of the youths working there, The King and Queen proceeded by motor to Arlington Memorial Cemetery, where His Majesty laid wreaths on the tombs of the Unknown Soldier and on the Canadian Cross. The ceremony at Arlington was most impressive and was attended by a very large number of people. Several hundred seats in the amphitheatre had been made available for British subjects or Americans with British affiliations, and, in addition, a very large crowd gathered outside the amphitheatre.

16. On their return to the White House their Majesties met at tea a number of Government officials and others connected with social service activities in this country (see enclosure 2⁽¹⁾).

17. In the evening The King and Queen entertained the President and Mrs. Roosevelt at dinner at His Majesty's Embassy. A list of the other guests invited is given in enclosure 4.⁽¹⁾ After dinner, The King and Queen motored direct to the Union Station and entered the Royal train, being seen off by the Secretary of State and Mrs. Hull. There was a very large and enthusiastic crowd gathered both outside and inside the station, and The King and Queen had a most cordial send-off.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

18. Shortly after 9 A.M. on the following morning, the 10th June, their Majesties arrived at Red Bank, New Jersey, where they were welcomed by the Governor of New Jersey, Mr. Harry Moore, the Mayor of Red Bank, Mr. English, and Congressman Sutphin. After The King had inspected the guard of honour, their Majesties, accompanied by Governor Moore, proceeded by motor car to the military station at Fort Hancock, Sandy Hook. Although Red Bank is a comparatively small town, a very large crowd had collected and gave their Majesties a warm welcome as they drove through the streets. A similar reception awaited their Majesties all along the 15-mile route to Fort Hancock, and at every village and other vantage point cheering crowds and groups of school-children had collected.

19. On arriving at Fort Hancock their Majesties were greeted by a salute of twenty-one guns. After The King had inspected a guard of honour the Royal party embarked on the U.S.S. *Warrington*. As the Royal Standard was broken a further salute of twenty-one guns was fired by a United States coastguard cruiser nearby and both vessels, escorted by a number of police and coastguard cutters, set sail for the Battery. Although the morning was hazy and the visibility rather poor, the passage of the *Warrington* up the bay was observed by many other vessels, the passengers on which greeted Their Majesties with cheers and blasts on their sirens. As the convoy neared the Battery considerable crowds could be seen lining the northern shore of the bay in order to greet their Majesties. As the destroyer passed Governor's Island a guard of honour presented arms and a further salute of twenty-one guns was fired. Finally, at about 11.15, *Warrington* tied up alongside Pier No. 1 at the Battery to the accompaniment of almost deafening hooting from the sirens of the neighbouring ships.

20. Their Majesties at once disembarked, and on reaching Battery Place were greeted by the Governor of New York and Mrs. Lehman, and the Mayor and Mrs. La Guardia. I also presented His Majesty's Consul-General and Mrs. Haggard. The two national anthems were played, a guard of honour of mounted police saluted, and their Majesties, accompanied by the Governor and the Mayor and their ladies, and followed by the remainder of the party, took their places in motor cars. The order of procession is given in enclosure 5⁽¹⁾ to this despatch. A very large crowd had congregated at the Battery, and the windows of all the skyscrapers surrounding the square were packed with people. Their Majesties received a great ovation when they first appeared, and the cheering continued incessantly until the procession had left Battery Place.

21. The motor procession proceeded slowly along West Street as far as the end of the West Side Elevated Highway. West Street and the neighbouring side streets were filled with enthusiastic crowds, while ticker tape was thrown from the windows of the buildings bordering the route. The procession then went along the West Side Highway as far as 72nd Street. For practically the whole of this distance—a matter of a few miles—one side of the street was lined by crowds three or four deep, while on the other side of the road many of the ships lying at the quays were dressed all over with flags and welcomed the passage of the procession with their sirens. It was noticeable, too, that many windows in the buildings facing the route were filled with people. A very large and enthusiastic crowd had gathered at 72nd Street, and in Central Park, where a great number of school-children had been collected, and the reception was tumultuous. From Central Park the procession then proceeded, via 90th Street and the East River Drive, to the Triborough Bridge, and all along this part of the route very large crowds had gathered. From the Triborough Bridge to the Fair the Grand Central Parkway was followed, and here again there were a great number of spectators. The procession proceeded at a comparatively slow rate throughout, so much so, in fact, that the Fair grounds were not reached until about 12.45, some three-quarters of an hour behind the schedule.

22. On entering the Fair grounds the procession proceeded to Perylon Hall, the Fair headquarters, where their Majesties were received, amid the cheers of a large crowd of spectators, by the president of the New York World's Fair and Mrs. Grover Whalen. Here a slight hitch in the proceedings occurred. It had been understood that after their Majesties had signed the Fair's visitors' book and had been presented with a gift on behalf of the Fair authorities, some sixty persons connected with the Fair would be presented to them. It transpired, however, that instead of sixty persons Mr. Whalen had invited 280 gentlemen with

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

their wives to be present. As the programme was already behind schedule it was obvious it would be impossible for all these persons to be individually presented to their Majesties. The proceedings had, therefore, to be cut short after about twenty minutes, and The King and Queen then re-entered their motor cars and proceeded by a circuitous route through the Fair grounds to the Court of Peace in front of the Federal Building. This part of the route was traversed at a slow pace and a very large crowd of visitors had an excellent view of their Majesties. A large guard of honour was drawn up in front of the Federal Building, and after the usual honours had been paid, their Majesties entered the building, where they were greeted by the United States Commissioner-General and Mrs. Flynn.

23. Luncheon was served in the Federal Building and, after a short inspection of the building, The King and Queen came out on the terrace facing the Court of Peace, which by this time had been filled by large crowds composed to a considerable extent of boy scouts and school-children, who gave their Majesties a very warm welcome.

24. The King and Queen, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Whalen, then paid a short visit to the Irish Pavilion, where Lord Eldon presented the Irish Commissioner-General and Mrs. Macauley. The Royal party then embarked on a trackless train for the Canadian Pavilion, where, after a guard of honour of Canadian ex-servicemen had been inspected, Mr. Mackenzie King presented the Canadian Commissioner-General and Mrs. Cole. A short visit was then paid to the Southern Rhodesian Pavilion, where I presented the Southern Rhodesian Commissioner-General and Mrs. Yule. The party then went, again by trackless train, to the British Pavilion, some 300 yards distant. On their arrival at the British Pavilion their Majesties first inspected the Australian section, where the Australian Commissioner-General and Mrs. Macgregor were introduced. The colonial section, where Mr. and Mrs. Findlay were presented, and the New Zealand exhibit, where the New Zealand Commissioner-General and Mrs. Firth were introduced, were next visited. On emerging from the New Zealand section, The King and Queen found themselves in the open space in front of the main pavilion, where a large number of the local British residents had gathered and gave their Majesties a very warm reception. A guard of honour of British ex-servicemen was inspected, and after the United Kingdom High Commissioner and Lady Beale, and the Assistant Commissioner-General and Mrs. Baynes, had been presented, and The King had talked for a few moments to Lieutenant-Commander Auten, V.C., Mr. Haggard presented the senior members of the staff of His Majesty's Consulate-General and their wives. Lord Eldon then presented the South African Consul and Mrs. Horne and the Vice-Consul and his wife, and I introduced the Indian Trade Commissioner and Sardarni Malik and the senior members of the British Library of Information and of the Passport Control Office. Their Majesties then entered the United Kingdom section of the pavilion and made a brief tour of the various exhibits. At various places in the pavilion and also in the Australian and New Zealand sections numbers of British residents, and Americans with British associations, had been grouped together. The King and Queen left the British Pavilion by the garden, where another guard of honour of ex-servicemen were paraded and a large number of British residents had assembled. Their Majesties finally left the Fair grounds at about 4.30 P.M.

25. The King and Queen then proceeded to Columbia University, following the same route via the Triborough Bridge, 96th Street, Central Park and 72nd Street. The crowds assembled along these streets and in the park were just as large and enthusiastic as in the morning. On their arrival at Columbia University, the King and Queen were welcomed by the president, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, and were escorted by him to the amphitheatre, where a large and representative body of persons had assembled. The King and Queen were warmly received on entering the hall. The actual ceremony was brief, lasting only some fifteen minutes. Dr. Murray Butler read a short address of welcome and their Majesties then signed the visitors' book and examined the original charter of the college. The King and Queen left Columbia University by motor for Hyde Park at about 5 P.M.

26. The motor procession followed the Henry Hudson Parkway as far as the New York City boundary, and all along the route large and enthusiastic crowds were assembled. Nor did the popular interest in their Majesties cease at the city boundary. At short intervals all along the 80 odd miles of road to

Hyde Park crowds (frequently of very considerable dimensions) had collected, and gave their Majesties a warm welcome as they passed, despite the fact that rain had begun to fall. In particular, at Poughkeepsie, a few miles short of Hyde Park, the streets were lined with people, and a very large crowd had assembled. Hyde Park itself was not reached until nearly 7.45. Their Majesties dined at Hyde Park that evening. A list of the persons present will be found in enclosure 2⁽¹⁾ of this despatch.

27. On the following morning, Sunday, the 11th June, The King and Queen, accompanied by the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, attended divine service at the Church of St. James, a few miles from Hyde Park. The small church itself was filled, and the considerable crowd which had gathered outside gave their Majesties a warm welcome on their arrival and departure. The sermon was preached by Bishop St. George Tucker of Virginia, the senior bishop of the Episcopal Church of the United States.

28. The King and Queen attended a picnic luncheon held at the President's own house, a little distance from Hyde Park itself. Some 150 neighbours and other guests were also present. In the evening there was a dinner party at Hyde Park, the names of those present being given in enclosure No. 2.⁽¹⁾

29. After dinner their Majesties motored to Hyde Park Station, accompanied by the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, and left by train for Canada at 11 P.M. A large crowd had gathered at the railway station and gave their Majesties a most enthusiastic send-off.

30. I fear that the visit to the United States must have been very trying to their Majesties, for, apart from the numerous functions attended, the weather was more than trying. On the two days at Washington the thermometer rose well above 90 degrees in the shade and the sky was cloudless. At New York the sky was, indeed, overcast and the temperature somewhat lower, but the air was heavy and relaxing. I can only hope that in these oppressive conditions their Majesties may have been heartened by the astonishing enthusiasm with which they were greeted almost every yard of the path traversed. We have one cause to thank nature—great heat in America is usually accompanied by thunderstorms, and two such we had, on the 8th and on the 11th, with all their usual accompaniment of lightning, tempestuous wind, and torrential rain, but in each case not till late in the evening when their Majesties were at dinner and when the minimum of inconvenience must have been caused to the public.

31. I shall have the honour of addressing a further report to your Lordship on the political aspects of their Majesties' visit.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

[Enclosures 1, 2, 4 and 5 not printed.]

Enclosure 3.

*Speech by the President of the United States and Response by
His Majesty The King.*

Speech by the President of the United States.

Your Majesties,

IN the life of a nation, as in that of an individual, there are occasions that stand out in high relief. Such an occasion is the present one, when the entire United States is welcoming on its soil the King and Queen of Great Britain, of our neighbour Canada, and of all the far-flung British Commonwealth of Nations. It is an occasion for festivities, but it is also fitting that we give thanks for the bonds of friendship that link our two peoples.

(¹) Not printed.

I am persuaded that the greatest single contribution our two countries have been enabled to make to civilisation, and to the welfare of peoples throughout the world, is the example we have jointly set by our manner of conducting relations between our two nations.

It is because each nation is lacking in fear of the other that we have unfortified borders between us. It is because neither of us fears aggression on the part of the other that we have entered no race of armaments, the one against the other.

The King and I are aware of a recent episode. Two small uninhabited islands in the centre of the Pacific became of sudden interest to the British Empire and to the United States as stepping-stones for commercial airplanes between America and Australasia. Both nations claimed sovereignty. Both nations had good cases. To have entered into a long-drawn-out argument could have meant ill-will between us and delay in the use of the islands by either nation. It was suggested that the problem be solved by the joint use of both islands by both nations, and, by a gentleman's agreement, to defer the question of ultimate sovereignty until the year 1989. The passage of fifty years will solve many problems.

If this illustration of the use of methods of peace, divorced from aggression, could only be universally followed, relations between all countries would rest upon a sure foundation, and men and women everywhere could once more look upon a happy, a prosperous and a peaceful world.

May this kind of understanding between our countries grow ever closer and may our friendship prosper. Ladies and gentlemen, we drink to the health of His Majesty King George VI.

His Majesty's Response to the President's Toast.

The visit which the Queen and I are paying you to-day is something which has been in our minds for many weeks, and if we have had our moments of anxiety, they have served to make us realise how intensely we have been looking forward to the present occasion. I wish, therefore, in the first place, to thank you for your kind invitation and for your still kinder welcome. We have been deeply touched by the manner in which Washington has already received us, and we expect to enjoy every minute of our remaining time in the United States.

From Canada, which we have just left and whither we shall soon return, I bring you to-day the warm greetings of a neighbour and a trusted friend. From my other Dominions, from the United Kingdom, and from all my Empire I carry to you expressions of the utmost cordiality and goodwill. As I drink a toast to you, Mr. President, I wish you every possible health and happiness. I trust and believe that in years to come the history of the United States will continue to be marked by that ordered progress and by that prosperity which has been theirs in the past. And I pray that our great nations may ever in the future walk together along the path of friendship in a world of peace.

NORTH AMERICA.

June 27, 1939.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 5.

[A 4443/27/45]

Copy No. 037

Sir R. Lindsay to Viscount Halifax.—(Received June 27.)

(No. 679.)

My Lord,

Washington, June 20, 1939.

I HAVE the honour to submit some general observations on the visit of their Majesties to the United States.

2. It is my understanding that, when the Royal visit to this continent was first thought of, its political effects as regards the United States were hardly in the mind of those who considered the question. Certainly the first this embassy heard of the project was the announcement in the press that a visit to Canada had been decided on. Once that journey had been settled, its extension to the United States was inevitable, for the President could not, without discourtesy, fail to invite their Majesties once they were in Canada. (In point of fact, on the strength of advance private information, he actually did invite them before the public announcement of the visit to Canada was made.) Nor could their Majesties conceivably decline such an invitation. From the first moment, therefore, the visit to America presented itself before the public of this country as a perfectly natural event, following logically on other circumstances. In no other conditions could it, from the first moment of its public mention, have met in advance with the cordial welcome with which it was greeted immediately, or carried the promise of success which it eventually realised. In other conditions it would have been regarded with suspicion by an America, which is convinced of the imminence of a world war, determined to remain neutral when it comes, and deeply resentful of any efforts to entangle it in the threatened disaster. Such a suspicion would have introduced an unpleasant element into the visit, and would unfailingly have impaired its prospects.

3. The doubts as to whether circumstances would allow their Majesties to start at all, their eventual sailing, and their gradual approach towards this hemisphere all increased popular interest in the visit. Once their Majesties landed in Canada, their progress across the Dominion engrossed the attention of the public almost to the exclusion of all other events. Everything reported of them, their friendly and unaffected ways, the manner in which they were lost in a crowd of ex-servicemen, their willingness to see the Dionne quintuplets, every action they took tended to show that they were real human beings, as well as Sovereigns, and predisposed the American public to accord them the heartiest possible welcome.

4. The success of the visit was thus assured from the very first moment. No one had doubted that the American sense of obligation towards a guest would fail, or that the public would receive The King and Queen otherwise than with enthusiasm. Many, it is true (but not myself), had feared that some incident or *contretemps* of a blatant character might occur and mar the visit, and regretted that the responsibility of arranging the visit had been assumed at all. In the outcome no gloomy anticipations were realised, and all the most sanguine hopes were far surpassed. The visit went with a roar from the first moment. It is said that on the first day in Washington more than half a million people saw The King and Queen at fairly close quarters, whose appearance, charm and simple and unaffected graciousness instantly won all hearts. That the arrangements made worked well, or that the weather, though exhaustingly hot, spared us its worst horrors, counted for nothing, and receives no attention from us when we talk the visit over now; the plain fact is that the whole business was an immense personal triumph for their Majesties, and this fact is recognised, not only in Washington and New York where they were seen, but throughout the length and breadth of the whole country.

5. As regards the results of the visit, I should wish to quote from a private letter which I received three or four days ago from Mr. Henry Stimson, who was

[637 dd—5]

*Copy sent to
Minister*

30/8/39

Just

Secretary of State in Mr. Hoover's Administration, a personal friend of my own and a man entirely devoted to the cause of Anglo-American friendship. He writes:—

"I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the success of the whole trip; I have neither heard nor read of a single jarring note. They have carried away the hearts of our people, and the trip will have a quiet, solid influence towards a good understanding on both sides of the Atlantic which can hardly be overestimated. You can feel solid satisfaction in a great achievement of lasting good to both our countries."

Mr. Stimson is a wise and prudent man, and his first anxiety is clearly that we should not overestimate the effects of the visit; and, indeed, nothing would be more dangerous than that His Majesty's Government should imagine that they had America politically "in the bag." That, however, does not detract from the great importance of the results coming from the visit. Relations between the United States and Great Britain are governed by psychological factors and by emotions far more than those between any other two countries, and the emotions have been stirred to their very roots. Americans feel a kind of proprietary interest in the best British institutions, and especially in the monarchy. They have always been predisposed to think the best of our two present Sovereigns, and at a critical moment in history they have been given an opportunity to see them in person, and to ascertain for themselves that, however high an opinion they may have formed of The King and Queen, the lady and the gentleman deserve even higher esteem. His late Majesty King George V, by his quiet wisdom and his personal virtues, came to command in America a respect and prestige which were a real political asset for the Empire which he governed. It is possible that such a position as he attained to in American opinion could only be reached in the course of years, but I believe that, as a result of the visit, their present Majesties may already have attained to a position equally high, though of a slightly different character. All Americans to-day feel closer to the Empire than they did a fortnight ago, and this cannot fail to be of immense importance.

6. Though the politics of Anglo-American relations were not the primary purpose of the Royal visit, it is not to be denied that it does have great political significance, and this is frankly and fairly recognised by nearly all the chief papers in this country (see report on the press in my despatch No. 677 of the 20th June). Only the *Chicago Tribune* and a few minor columnists have indulged in unfair sneers or taunts of propaganda. The truth is that the impression their Majesties have created has been deep and has extended to the broadest strata of the population of America. In the event of a very grave crisis, this might have decisive results, but it is far less certain that it will materially influence that minority of the Senate who are opposing the amendments of the Neutrality Law desired by the Administration. It should, however, surely have the effect of making it more difficult for those gentlemen to maintain their resistance if the forces of the Administration have the courage and strength to fight strongly.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

NORTH AMERICA.

June 27, 1939.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 4.

[A 4441/27/45]

Copy No. 037

Sir R. Lindsay to Viscount Halifax.—(Received June 27.)

(No. 677.)

My Lord,

Washington, June 20, 1939.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 255 of the 12th June, I have the honour to submit the following report on the reactions of the United States press to the visit of their Majesties The King and Queen to this country:—

2. It can be said at once that their Majesties' personalities were the subject of the warmest admiration in all parts of the country. Day by day their tour of Canada had been reported in the utmost detail, and by the time their Majesties crossed into the United States their personal welcome was more assured than ever. Editorial comment, however, did not limit itself to considering their Majesties as individuals. The *New York Times*, which in May had reminded its readers that "a more than ceremonial welcome to George and Elizabeth need imply no acceptance of any item in British policy and no abdication of the right to criticise such policy," reminded them on the day of their Majesties' arrival that The King "represents all the people of England—not merely Mr. Chamberlain or Parliament," and went on to ask: "What can all the people of England say to us? They can say, regardless of party, that they want no war, intend to commit no aggression, desire to maintain free institutions within their boundaries, and look to us for such sympathy and such help as are consistent with our own interests and our own traditions. The Royal visit carries this message to us. What can we say in return? The least, surely, is that we stand together on fundamentals, whatever our opinions as to transient policies. . . . The mass of us, on both sides of the water, stand firm in our longing for a world in which there shall be assurance of peace and in which the spirit of man shall have room to grow towards a creative freedom." As their Majesties visited New York, the newspaper recalled how Sir Guy Carleton had handed over the keys of the city as he embarked in 1783 at the Battery where their Majesties were to land. "So history completes, not a cycle but a fortunate spiral. . . . In a different and happier sense we give them back to George and Elizabeth. We hope . . . that this New York will remain a pleasant memory in the minds of the two who were once Duke and Duchess of an older York." Summing up the visit of the 12th June, the newspaper said: "To us, our welcome to the Royal visitors was a perfectly normal and spontaneous expression of American goodwill and hospitality. That is the way we do things here. To be sure, the welcome might have been less heart-felt if The King and Queen had not proved themselves such charming and tactful guests. It was partly curiosity, no doubt, which brought out the vast New York crowds. But it was a genuine tribute nevertheless, and as much to the British people as to their Sovereigns. We like the British because we understand them better than most foreigners. And, after all, why shouldn't we? They gave us our speech, our manners and customs, and, after a little persuasion by the continental army, our country itself." In conclusion, on the following day, the *New York Times* referred to Bishop Manning's prayer for strength for the bonds of fellowship between America and Great Britain, and for help toward brotherhood and right and peace among all nations, and expressed the belief that "millions will be making like prayer in varied form and even without words in the unuttered wish of their hearts."

3. Other editorial comment in New York was in similar vein. As The King and Queen crossed the border, "the bonds of language, of history, of basic institutions," said the *New York Herald-Tribune*, "are too fundamental and enduring to be ignored in the presence of so friendly a gesture. . . . A warm personal greeting, of admiration and liking, seems certain, therefore, to wait their Majesties in this republic of ours. May their stay on this alien but friendly

[637 dd—4]

Copy detached
for Minister
30/6/39
Jm

soil be as happy and cloudless as every American will wish it to be!" After their Majesties' visit to New York, this newspaper wrote: "For sheer numbers the turnout was unprecedented. Similarly, we can recall no parallel for the steady warmth of the greetings. . . . With goodwill and generosity, by Governments and by individuals, a staunch structure of common aims may be built which could mean more for peace and justice than any formal alliance ever written."

4. In Washington, the only other city which their Majesties visited, the press devoted whole columns to every detail. On the day of their arrival, the *Washington Post* remarked that the visit would subtly strengthen the growing determination of the American people "to have the United States play a truly constructive rôle in this difficult era, to exert positive leadership, and to fulfil all the responsibilities which, in national as in individual life, are an inescapable concomitant of power. . . . Washington understands how much the British tradition means in a period when there is serious threat to the ideals which the two countries hold in common." When their Majesties had left for New York, this newspaper wrote: "To say that The King and Queen were received here with open arms would be an understatement. It was into the hearts of the population that they were taken, and taken without reservation." Of the more lasting effects of the visit it wrote: "There is no desire and there is no need for any alliance between Great Britain and the United States. . . . But there is both desire and need for people whose interests and ideals are largely identical to work and think and live co-operatively. . . . As fellow pilgrims on that uphill road where all of us are jumbled, The King and Queen have passed through Washington. The brief commingling has been good for them and good for us." Even the *Washington Times-Herald*, a newspaper on which the manner of its erstwhile owner, Mr. Hearst, still lies heavy, and which in May had warned its readers, "while warmly welcoming The King and Queen, that it is really Mr. Chamberlain who is visiting us; and let's keep clearly in mind what he wants to sell us," managed to end its editorial on their Majesties' arrival with: "So welcome again, your Majesties. Americans are cousins of the British—though not brothers. . . . They are likewise friends of the British and want to remain so—though they don't want to be British allies."

5. Eastern newspapers outside New York and Washington seem to have shown no such reservations. The Boston press, despite the large Irish and Italian element among its readers, expressed the most hearty welcome. It would be wearisome to quote textually from the many forms of words employed, but the following summing-up from the *Boston Herald* of the 12th June, is a sample: "Americans acclaimed George and Elizabeth not only because of affection and regard for them, but because they are representatives of a democracy which, with all its shortcomings, is the greatest factor on the planet for civilisation, peace, decency and the rule of law." When the visit was over, the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote: "Family bickering is sometimes unlovely, and so it has occasionally been with Britain and America. But now a fine thing has happened. The King and Queen of England have been this way, and the old bond between the democracies has taken on higher, warmer, yes, friendlier qualities than it ever had before." The *Philadelphia Inquirer and Public Ledger*, a newspaper normally rather critical of His Majesty's Government, maintained a sceptical attitude before their Majesties arrived. On the 21st May, having warned its readers that the Royal visitors were "presumably not coming to the United States for their health nor to study our quaint customs," but that their visit marked "the ultimate . . . in a system of propaganda which is without equal anywhere," it none the less said: "World conditions being as they are, it is well for the two great English-speaking democracies to be on cordial terms. Having no illusions about this visit, the American people can be glad to greet the Royal pair with hearty good wishes." As their Majesties departed, the newspaper wrote: "The general disposition of the American people was to accept this visit of the Royal pair at its face value as a kindly call of courtesy from the representatives of a great and friendly nation—no more, no less." On the 8th June the *Baltimore Sun* pointed out: "The visit originated in friendliness and the confirmation of friendship is its sole aim. His Majesty comes to these shores neither to deliver nor to hear demands. . . . His object is to combine not the fighting strength but the good faith and the goodwill of two strong nations. . . . As long as he stands for peace and freedom, we stand

together, right heartily adding our 'Amen!' when his subjects shout: 'God Save The King!' Again, four days later, the *Baltimore Sun* observed: "The fact that millions of Americans have lately decided that The King of England is, on the whole, a remarkably nice fellow has no real bearing on our relations with the British Empire, but it may be highly important, nevertheless, because it may do much to counteract irrational prejudice."

6. A striking feature has been the warmth of the welcome extended to their Majesties by newspapers in the traditionally isolationist Middle West—in St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, Des Moines, Indianapolis and Milwaukee. The *Des Moines Register*, for example, observing that their Majesties had had "a success surpassing even the fondest hopes of the British Government," wrote: "For, after all, the purpose of the visit has been utterly clear to everyone from the first. And we have never quite been able to discern why there should be anything sinister or immoral about the anxiety of one nation to weld its bonds of friendship and mutual interest with another. Did the American people presume we were 'putting something over' on someone, for example, when President Roosevelt went to Panama for a cruise or to Canada to make a friendly address? . . . To imagine that this inescapable spiritual association offers all of its advantages to the British people, and none to us, is simply to be unaware of the kind of world in which we must live henceforth." Likewise, the *Indianapolis Star* of the same date wrote: "The United States hopes to remain aloof from foreign war, but it has a vital interest in the construction of Britain's 'peace front.' Britain's programme for maintaining democracy wherever possible accords with American desires." From the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* of the 13th June another sample may be taken: "We need no Washington-London axis, nor is such contemplated. We have something better—a mutual understanding of aims and ideals. To this significant understanding King George and his gracious Queen have just made a substantial contribution." "They are here," said the *Omaha World Herald* of the 9th June, "not for pleasure, but to perform a mission. That mission is to improve the friendly ties between the empire and the republic. Every true American will wish them success." More cautious and isolationist, the *Milwaukee Journal* of the 12th June observed: "Everything has been so pleasant and everybody so happy about it that now it is distinctly disturbing to have to come down from the heights of hospitality to warn those who try to read into this visit more than it means or could mean. . . . No one has heard any comment that this visit has any effect at all on our views of European relations." Most isolationist of all throughout has been the *Chicago Tribune*. Intense hostility to Mr. Roosevelt has led it ever since his invitation to their Majesties was announced to pour cold water whenever possible on a presidential gesture that seemed likely to be popular. In its news reporting—admittedly ample—as in its cartoons, it missed no opportunity for suggesting that the object of their Majesties' visit was to inveigle the United States out of isolation, or at least, with the President's help, to make the dictators think they had succeeded. It ridiculed those who attended the various ceremonies in Washington—"the true crown colony representatives of the Atlantic seaboard"—and remarked: "If the clumsy homage of the New Dealers opens the way for the betrayal of their own country, the Empire may think the results well worth the shock. What has been accomplished by the efforts of The King? We'll know more about that when Congress reveals the effects, whether it has been softened . . . or made tougher. If it scraps the Neutrality Act and gives Mr. Roosevelt the authority he wants to pick sides and give aid, Mr. Chamberlain will think very well of his *coup d'Etat*."

7. The press of the Pacific coast, cutting from which has just reached me, shows no real change from the cordiality of the rest, and, indeed, there seems no reason to suppose that any other newspaper of importance has adopted such an attitude as the *Chicago Tribune*. The trend, indeed, has been strongly the other way. Most papers, no doubt, have thought it wise to remind their readers, at some stage in the matter, that foreign entanglements were still undesirable, but most of these also had the honesty to add that none were being suggested. Except for the *San Francisco Examiner*, whose comments were isolationist but inoffensive, the Hearst press, relatively unimportant though it now is except on the West coast, appears to have taken refuge from an obviously popular fact by avoiding comment on it altogether. If the *New York World Telegram* can be taken as a guide, the following extracts will give an idea of the by no means unfriendly

attitude of the Scripps-Howard newspapers: *May 20*.—"We've got company coming. And it doesn't look like any treat to them. So let's act as hosts should, and not as if we were afraid they might go south with the silverware."

June 8.—"Our nation to-day welcomes King George and Queen Elizabeth. They are greeted by the American people not merely as representatives of another great democracy, or as Royalty, but as two great human beings who have won that distinction in their own right. . . . We like them; and we hope they like us."

June 12.—"We said we liked them, much, when they came, and hoped they would like us. We like them even better after watching them take the hurdles of our hospitality. No matter what our future opinions may be about the British Empire . . . there will be forever only deep affection for the charming pair who visited us, smilin' through."

8. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Ottawa.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

NORTH AMERICA.

June 27, 1939.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 3.

[A 4435/27/45]

Copy No. 037

Sir R. Lindsay to Viscount Halifax.—(Received June 27.)

(No. 660.)

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Washington presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit to him a copy of despatch No. 211 from His Majesty's Consul-General, New York, dated the 14th June, respecting the visit of their Majesties to New York City.

Washington, June 16, 1939.

Enclosure.

Consul-General Sir G. Haggard to Sir R. Lindsay.

(No. 211.)

Sir,

New York, June 14, 1939.

IN recording the remarkable success of the Royal visit it is difficult to add much to what must have been apparent to any eye-witness here or reader of the press. It was due to the natural friendly yet dignified bearing of New York's two guests, for so long a myth and now a reality to some millions of the population, who were delighted and, perhaps, surprised to find the genuine warmth of their welcome reciprocated. The size, the orderliness and enthusiasm of the crowds lining the route surprised all the prophets (although the number of persons admitted to the Fair that day was not much above normal); and as one looks back on those cheering happy faces it is difficult to imagine that their Majesties were ever exposed to danger or rudeness, or that such would have been tolerated by the crowds. According to the police, there were no arrests at all, which must constitute a record. In fact, there is a feeling that the precautions were overdone; and in consequence much appreciation of the request, attributed to His Majesty, to slow down the procession from the Battery to the World's Fair, whereby the city was given the opportunity it had hardly expected, to show what a New York welcome can be. Mayor LaGuardia seemed reconciled to being forbidden to stage the traditional ticker-tape Broadway reception by the success of his West Side Highway enclosure, an alternative that proved popular enough with the common people to get over the principal criticism levelled against the programme.

2. Another object of criticism before the event was the Hyde Park interlude on Sunday. But the unconventional events there as reported in the press, the "hot dogs," His Majesty's swim and other human and homely features of the stay, have shown British Royalty in a guise which has surprised and delighted the man in the New York street. That there is a brain underneath Her Majesty's becoming hats, and genuine feeling behind His Majesty's handshake is a discovery that is going to promote a better understanding of Britain's system of government and Britain's problems, and help to consign to limbo legends current since the Abdication.

3. One wonders what effect his reception of their Majesties may have on President Roosevelt's own position. Certainly where one and all wished the visit to be a success there was a general feeling of relief, even among his bitter opponents, that the President should have been one so well fitted to act as the nation's host.

[637 dd—3]

4. Finally, a word ought to be said for our publicity—or the lack, or apparent lack of our publicity—arrangements, the success of which has not escaped notice here. No attempt would seem to have been made to popularise the visit in the press beforehand. On the other hand, the Royal pair “sold themselves” (to use a local phrase) directly they appeared on the scene. Black-mailing articles by journalists desirous of employment were silenced and their authors constrained to shout with the crowd.

I have, &c.

GODFREY HAGGARD.

NORTH AMERICA.

February 17, 1939.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[A 1385/1292/45]

Copy No. 037

Viscount Halifax to Sir R. Lindsay (Washington).

(No. 157.)

Foreign Office, February 17, 1939.

Sir,

I HAD an interview with the United States Ambassador this morning on his return from America. The Ambassador was in good form, and made even more generous use than usual of the American vernacular to emphasise his points.

2. His Excellency said that American opinion was moving steadily in the right direction and was more and more coming to realise that, if there were a show-down in Europe, they could not be disinterested. At the same time, there was always the danger that a great mass of American opinion might be stampeded, and the two dangers that Mr. Kennedy feared were, firstly, the acceptance by Congress of what I think he termed the Ludlow amendment, by which a declaration of war could only be issued after the people had been in some way directly consulted, and, secondly, action by Congress that would make it impossible for the American Government or American citizens to trade with any nation that was at war. The Ambassador told me that, if legislation in the sense of this last were passed, the President would veto it.

3. But on the whole question of Anglo-American relations it was the Ambassador's considered view that the less said the better. It was very difficult to say anything that did not lend itself to misrepresentation.

4. Turning to the question of the Jews, the Ambassador said that he had observed a considerable development of anti-Jewish feeling in the United States. This was in part due to the constant suggestion that the Jews were trying to get America into war, and such effect as this might have was, of course, immediately reinforced by all the isolationist feeling. He did not wish to exaggerate it, but it was a very real and, he thought, growing factor in American opinion. One of its consequences had been to give in American opinion greater value than perhaps it deserved to Herr Hitler's recent speech. People were disposed to feel sympathy when he spoke about economic difficulties and their effects.

5. This led the Ambassador to ask whether it was or was not to be thought that any action on economic lines might have the effect of diverting Germany from ideas of war. He was sure that, if this was so, the President would try to do whatever could be done to give economic help and open up economic opportunity. The President was still opposed to the return of the American Ambassador to Berlin and accordingly would be greatly guided in his judgment by reports that might be made to him by Mr. Kennedy and the American Ambassador in Paris.

6. I said that I did not suppose anybody could give a secure answer to the question the Ambassador had asked. It was the case that the Germans were showing considerable interest in economic matters, and I certainly thought that all these possibilities of contacts and means of avoiding real grievances should be explored and treated.

7. Our conversation was brought to an end by other engagements which we both had to keep before we had exhausted many topics we were anxious to discuss together, and I arranged with the Ambassador to see him again next week.

I am, &c.

HALIFAX.

[537 r-1]

NORTH AMERICA.

November 10, 1938.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[A 8433/64/45]

Copy No. 037

Sir R. Lindsay to Viscount Halifax.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 953.)

My Lord,

Washington, November 1, 1938.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL'S broadcast to the United States on the 16th October called forth a great deal of press comment, most of which was quite friendly. I had been somewhat perturbed lest such a direct form of propaganda might produce an unfavourable reaction here, but the forthright nature of Mr. Churchill's speech, combined with the fact, on which several newspapers remarked, that he can in no way be suspected of acting under instructions from His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, has led to a good deal of quite serious and objective discussion by leader writers and columnists. The *New York Herald-Tribune*, for instance, particularly praises his plea for freedom of thought and the resistance against tyranny and injustice, though it remarks that if Mr. Churchill had not been speaking before a foreign audience he would, doubtless, have drawn even more plainly the picture of how Munich has still further weakened the forces of freedom. The *Chicago Tribune*, which, owing to its strict isolationist attitude, has refrained from abuse of the Munich Agreement, points out that Mr. Churchill did not have to face the problem of making the decision of war or peace, and this lack of responsibility leaves him free to criticise. The paper does not, however, utterly despair of peace in Europe. "In all essentials the so-called democracies are as strong now as they were before, in spite of the submission to certain realities which dissipated the remaining illusions of post-war statesmanship and popular sentiment. They are now living in the world as it is and should have no more dreams to misguide them. It is to be hoped that the United States will learn this lesson. Another lesson to be learned is that the United States is not the keeper of the British Empire, nor does it guarantee the preservation of democracy in Europe." The *New York World Telegram* (Scripps-Howard) points out that unfortunately the peace-loving nations have not stood together, and it trots out the old myth of Mr. Stimson and Sir John Simon. It goes on to say that nations will not in future fight in defence of democracy or any other abstract ideal, but only when their direct interests are menaced. This paper has no intention of quarrelling with Mr. Chamberlain for refusing to fight for the Czechs. Mr. Churchill was right in saying that American sympathies are on our side, but America has no intention of pledging herself in advance to go to war again on behalf of democracy.

2. I have seen only very few papers which resent Mr. Churchill's broadcast, among them the *Philadelphia Ledger* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, which print the same leading article and call upon their readers to resist Mr. Chamberlain's blandishments which give a grim meaning to the glib phrase: "England expects every American to do his duty." The Hearst press goes much further. It accuses Mr. Churchill of using a scare about South America as a club to drive the United States between the claws of the British lion. Mr. Hearst himself delivered an exceedingly bitter broadcast address on the 22nd October, which was reprinted the next day in all his papers, and of which I have the honour to enclose a copy.⁽¹⁾ It was full of such wild and exaggerated statements that no other papers have taken the trouble even to refer to it.

3. Many of the comments of the past week have dealt with what they describe as the unofficial censorship of news in the United Kingdom and have taken as their text on this subject Mr. Churchill's remark that he did not know how long freedom of uncensored expression would be allowed. The *Springfield Republican* refers to the moral pressure exercised by His Majesty's Government over the British newspapers both recently and at the time of the abdication. Point has been added to these comments by the exhibition throughout the country

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

of the "March of Time" film which was recently banned by the censor in the United Kingdom, a fact of which the film is making full use for advertisement purposes here.

4. Another moral which is being drawn from the recent crisis, which Mr. Churchill's broadcast has helped to point, is the need for more rapid armament in this country. Rumours of a colonial offer to Germany are producing remarks to the effect that America will have to prepare to defend herself and the Monroe doctrine, and can no longer rely, as she used to do, upon the British fleet. The illustrated newspaper *Life*, which has a circulation of nearly 2 million copies, in its edition of the 31st October has a front page article entitled: "America gets ready to fight Germany, Italy and Japan," in which it says that with Britain holding the seas America had little fear of possible European aggression. Since 1932 the American fleet has been kept in the Pacific watching Japan. "Now the belief in Britain's invincibility is shattered, Germany and Italy are on the march. They may become masters of Europe. They covet the rich resources of South America. With Britain beaten in war or standing impotent aside as it did in the rape of Czechoslovakia, Fascist fleets and legions may swarm across the Atlantic." A map is annexed showing that the distance from Africa to South America is only 2,000 miles.⁽²⁾

5. Mr. Walter Lippmann in his syndicated column to-day refers to *Life's* article and foresees the possible future establishment of German naval and air bases in the Portuguese islands in the Atlantic which would bring Germany closer to Brazil than ~~to~~ any naval bases of the United States. Assuming that the British fleet will be too busily occupied to take care of the Southern Atlantic, he suggests that the United States may have to tell us that if territory is to be ceded to Germany in Africa, America may have to discuss a new arrangement of naval bases in the Caribbean. "We may have to talk about the purchase or lease of . . . , say, Martinique and Barbados or Trinidad for use as American naval bases, and perhaps also about what measures the British mean to take in order to make secure Bermuda, the Bahama Islands and Jamaica." Mr. Lippmann goes on to say that the raising of this question is not a matter of sentiment and certainly not of aggressive ambition, but of strategy consequent upon the new naval position in the Atlantic. The islands he has mentioned mean nothing to the power, prestige or wealth of Great Britain, but they may mean very much indeed to the security of the United States. If Mr. Chamberlain feels that he is protecting the Empire by returning African colonies to Germany and that this will establish a long peace with Germany, then a concession to the United States in the West Indies could also be held to promote peace in the Western Hemisphere and make more secure the common interests of Britain and the United States. The United States would be better able to defend Canada, to keep open the door of British trade in Latin America and maintain the security of the Panamá Canal.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

(2) Not reproduced.

NSA-WK

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

NORTH AMERICA.

January 12, 1938.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[A 248/64/45]

Copy No. 037

Sir R. Lindsay to Mr. Eden.—(Received January 12, 1938.)

(No. 1133.)

Sir,

Washington, December 31, 1937.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith an extract from the *New York Times* of the 24th December, containing a leading article on "Parallel Roads to Peace," which may be considered as a continuation of the same newspaper's article on "America's Aloofness," to which I drew your attention in my despatch No. 1053 of the 30th November.⁽¹⁾ Each of these two editorials was clearly intended to have an educative influence by putting doubts in the minds of all but confirmed isolationists. The first stated the charge that America's aloofness had contributed to the present world crisis; the second suggests that the departure from complete isolation should take the form of "parallel action" to that of Great Britain, since this is the only form of co-operation which the character of American traditions and policies permits.

2. The first point made, after putting the war in China in its place as the last of a series of post-war outrages beginning at Corfu, is that, in protecting their interests in China, the United States and Great Britain are moving on "parallel lines," and this course is required by self-interest, as well as for the sake of world peace, because America has chestnuts of her own, and is not pulling Britain's out of the fire. Alluding to the necessity, on the other hand, for "parallel" rather than "joint action," surprise is expressed at the apparent disappointment in England at finding this to be true, and the good point is then made that criticism in England of this idiosyncrasy of the United States encourages the Japanese (and, by implication, other aggressors) to underestimate with dangerous results the force of parallel, but not joint, steps. Both democracies' previous policies can in some respects be blamed, and they must learn to understand and surmount each other's difficulties.

3. The *New York Times* then goes on to suggest that it is possible, without war, to impress on "dictators" the new determination of the democracies, which it rather hopefully considers has flowed from the *Panay* incident. This is to be done, without formal sanctions, by independent but parallel action, in withholding credits and raw materials—action which would not compromise the freedom and independence of United States policy. Only the most rabid isolationists and blindest pacifists in the United States could object to such action, but the aggressors themselves have no doubt of its effectiveness in stopping illegal aggression and the spread of Fascist ideas. "They know that the more freely there is consultation and parallel action . . . with the present British and American concert on the Far East as a model, the sooner that peace will come. In such an undertaking the Government at Washington is truly representing the sense and sentiment of the people"; the United States can regain its lost leadership, and the Administration are, in fact, moving towards that objective. The renewal of leadership embodied in the principle of joint action must, moreover, impress other countries besides the aggressive dictatorships, and to the Little *Entente* in particular it will bring much-needed reassurance.

4. The *New York Times* continues by summarising the points in Mr. Cordell Hull's statement of United States policy communicated to other Governments on the 16th July last (see my telegram No. 189 of the 17th July), observing somewhat vaguely and perfunctorily, considering the importance of the point, that these principles entail some sacrifices all round, but that the sooner the aggressors are convinced that the democracies will make them the fewer will be required. It concludes by remarking that Germany plunged into the World War on false information as to Great Britain's pacifism; "false information as to American pacifism and of the concurrent mood of this nation and Great Britain can mean but tragedy for Japan."

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

[212 m—1]

F NA

NORTH AMERICA.

May 14, 1937.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[A 3519/228/45]

Copy No. 037

Mr. Eden to Sir R. Lindsay (Washington).

(No. 417.)

Foreign Office, May 14, 1937.

Sir,

IN the course of a conversation which I had with Mr. Gerard on the 10th May, the chief United States representative at the Coronation expressed his great satisfaction at the present state of relations between this country and the United States. They had, in his view, never been better, and constituted an element of great importance in the preservation of peace. There was a real feeling of sympathy for this country in the United States, where it was realised what strenuous efforts we were making to preserve peace in Europe. There was, indeed, a definite tendency for an ever-friendlier attitude to be adopted by United States opinion towards both the Western democracies.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

[13 o-1]

N.D.
4/11
90
Jm
Jed.

7
Jm

CENTRAL (GERMANY).

November 27, 1934.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 5.

[C 8088/20/18]

No. 1.

Sir John Simon to Sir R. Lindsay (Washington).

(No. 1022.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 27, 1934.

I ASKED Mr. Bingham to call this morning, and in the course of our interview I asked him to send a personal message from me to Mr. Cordell Hull expressing my gratitude for his kind references the other day. I called the Ambassador's attention to passages about Anglo-American relations in my broadcast to the United States on Armistice night, which I thought the American Secretary of State might like to know of.

2. I told the Ambassador that relations between our two countries were so uniformly good that I did not have so many opportunities of seeing him as some other diplomatic representatives with whose countries we had more frequent difficulty. This was no reason why we should not meet more often, and I suggested we should try to establish an arrangement for a monthly talk in which I should like to discuss with him current European affairs so that he might transmit a periodic survey to the American President. Mr. Bingham expressed himself as very much pleased with this suggestion, and we will do our best to carry it out.

3. I then told the Ambassador, in outline, of the communication which we were making to-day to Germany (see my despatch No. 1324 of to-day's date to Sir E. Phipps) and of our reasons for it, and asked him to inform President Roosevelt. The Ambassador was good enough to say that he himself felt that His Majesty's Government had done every conceivable thing during the last two or three years to promote peace and agreement, and if the results up to date were not better, he was sure that the world outside did not regard this as our fault. He thought that the way in which we were raising the rearmament issue with Germany was very wisely chosen, and hoped that it might produce really useful consequences.

I am, &c.

JOHN SIMON.

[254 dd-5]

14

SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

April 7, 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[A 2087/9/8]

No. 1.

Sir R. Lindsay to Sir John Simon.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 526. Confidential.)

Sir,

Washington, March 27, 1932.

I CALLED on Mr. Castle yesterday at the State Department and, as he had little work to do at this holiday season, I sat with him talking on various topics for a little while. Somehow or other, I hardly know how, the conversation came round to the question of the recognition of the revolutionary Government of El Salvador. He spoke good humouredly of the attitude of His Majesty's Government, and said it was particularly to be regretted that there should be any difficulty in the republic as everyone seemed agreed that General Martínez in himself was a good ruler. He then said that he was not an expert in Latin American affairs, but that he had had a sort of impression that an unexpressed tacit understanding existed that the United States should conform its attitude to that of His Majesty's Government as regarded recognition of Governments in Europe, and that His Majesty's Government should more or less conform to the American attitude as regards Latin American republics. For instance, he said, when the monarchy fell in Spain, the United States Government had pointedly delayed their recognition of the republic till His Majesty's Government had acted. I replied that in my mind there was no real parallel. In Europe recognitions could be accorded strictly on their merits, and generally we did not much care when or how other Governments accorded them. As to Latin America, I said, I did not think His Majesty's Government could possibly subscribe to the principle that because for some reason the United States Government was unable to recognise a Government, therefore His Majesty's Government must be debarred from doing so. Mr. Castle agreed that we could not well subscribe to such a principle—laying emphasis on the word "principle." But as a matter of practice, said I, it seemed to be our experience that if we recognised a Latin American Government, and recognition by the United States was much delayed or definitely refused, we were likely sooner or later to feel rather uncomfortable. The upshot of the situation, I suggested, was that while a minor friction was always possible, there seemed to me to be little danger of a major complication. "Well, anyhow," said Mr. Castle, "I always think it best in these things to try to talk them over beforehand." "Yes," I replied, "but I have the impression that as regards Latin America you are less inclined to talk things over than we would be."

2. I am a little puzzled at this conversation. Mr. Castle does not generally deal with Latin American affairs, but I should have thought he would have had more knowledge of them than he displayed. On the whole, I am not disposed to attach much importance to the conversation; but think it ought to be reported.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

[448 g—1]

69 29 JUNE 1932

12

CHINA.

January 29, 1932.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 3.

[F 762/1/10]

No. 1.

Minute by Sir R. Vansittart respecting the Shanghai Situation: Co-operation with the United States Government.

I ASKED Mr. Atherton, the United States Chargé d'Affaires, to come and see me this afternoon, and explained to him the events of the last twenty-four hours, and gave him the substance of our telegrams No. 21 to Tokyo and No. 71 to Washington. I also explained to him the delay in answering Mr. Stimson's first overture on Monday. I pointed out the difficulty in the first course proposed by Mr. Stimson, and said that we had been thinking how this difficulty might best be turned or overcome. We had been thinking of suggesting to his Government a course that would not have laid us open to any possible retort from the Japanese Government, when the information brought by the Japanese first secretary, as described in telegram No. 21 to Tokyo of the 28th January, had precipitated matters. Mr. Atherton would note that the last sentence of the first paragraph made it impossible for the Japanese Government to give the reply that we had apprehended in regard to Mr. Stimson's first proposal. Matters had, however, now taken a graver turn, and I proceeded to read him our telegram No. 22 to Tokyo of this afternoon. Mr. Atherton asked if we had asked any other Powers to join us besides the United States Government. I said that, in regard to the latter and more important telegram, we had addressed ourselves for collaboration to the United States Government only. In regard to the earlier one, Sir F. Lindley was to address himself first to his American colleague, and I hoped that they would both have acted as nearly simultaneously as possible. We had also informed Paris and Rome, and if those Governments would support their British and American colleagues, so much the better; but they could necessarily only act *after* their colleagues. Mr. Atherton seemed very pleased at all this, and said he would inform his Government at once, particularly in regard to our difficulty in replying earlier to Mr. Stimson's first suggestion, a difficulty which he quite understood and appreciated.

Foreign Office, January 29, 1932.

[353 ff—3]

Kg.
4 APR 1932

NORTH AMERICA.

December 15, 1931.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[A 7307/21/45]

No. 1.

Sir R. Lindsay to Sir John Simon.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 1887.)

Sir,

Washington, December 4, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a report by Captain Macnamara, naval attaché to His Majesty's Embassy, recounting views expressed by the Secretary of the Navy relative to the reduction of the size of battleships. I call special attention to the last words of this report—"any decrease in size will be difficult to carry, especially if proposed by the British."

2. A fortnight ago, when Admiral Haggard on H.M.S. "Delhi" was visiting Washington, I took him to the White House, and, introducing him to the President, I said he had come up the river in his ship, "a 6-inch cruiser." The President smiled, and said: "Yes, there is a great battle in progress between the 6-inch and the 8-inch cruiser, but my own strong opinion is that the 6-inch cruiser will win in the end." I kept silence, even from good words, but my mind travelled back three years to the moment when Anglo-American relations were seriously disturbed by the British advocacy in the Anglo-French compromise, tentative though it was, of this very type of ship. As regards battleships, it is only a few months ago that the Secretary of State sent for me to urge that His Majesty's Government should not abandon the 35,000-ton limit. The American navy, he said, could never give it up, and it was in the interest of the great naval Powers to retain their liberty to build it (see my telegram No. 147 of the 2nd March). To-day we find the Secretary of the Navy seriously contemplating some decrease, and the Navy Department apparently working out practical details.

3. For His Majesty's Government it may be just possible at times to argue seriously that their naval needs are absolute and not relative, and that they are not, and have no intention of, building against the American navy. No such argument can be put forward in this country. The United States having attained to their present pitch of power, when a standard is sought up to which naval construction should be carried, only one can possibly be accepted—the American navy must be second to none. The standard must be purely relative, and those who are interested in American naval strength cannot take their eyes off the constructional activities of His Majesty's navy.

4. Briefly and parenthetically I will here make two points. Firstly, what I have stated above does not indicate any anti-British feeling. Outside purely professional circles or schools of political thought, now happily abnormal, nobody thinks of building ships in order to sink His Majesty's navy. Secondly, the standard being divorced from reality, it will always be hard work to keep Congress up to it; though at the same time no President, least of all Mr. Hoover, will be able to bring about its formal abandonment in anything like the circumstances now prevailing.

5. To resume the argument. With America building frankly (though rather theoretically) against Great Britain, I feel confident that any formal advocacy of this or that type of vessel or of this or that tonnage limit is almost bound, as in 1928, to arouse the deepest suspicion, and perhaps to defeat its own object. I feel nearly as sure, though here I am on more tenuous ground, that British example would definitely settle any controversy in America on these subjects. If, as a matter of hypothesis, His Majesty's Government were to-morrow to lay down a 27,000-ton battleship, nothing would ever induce Congress to vote the money for building a larger one.

6. Of course I am not advocating any such action. It is not practical politics to commit yourself to any type of capital ship which any naval Power by an effort could immediately outclass. But His Majesty's Government desire to bring about a reduction of the tonnage battleships; time, circumstances and

[333 p—1]

K9 8 FEB 1932

finance are working surely for them, and my strong recommendation to their negotiators would be, so far as the United States is concerned, to avoid any initiative unless absolutely forced to take it.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Captain Macnamara to Sir R. Lindsay.

(No. 66.)
Sir,

Washington, December 2, 1931.

Size of Capital Ships of the Future.

IN a conversation on the 30th November with Mr. Adams, Secretary of the Navy, he expressed certain views relative to the reduction of size of battleships.

Mr. Adams commenced by asking whether the British had considered smaller battleships, and, if so, of what type.

I replied that we thought a well-balanced battleship carrying 12-inch guns could be produced on about 27,000 tons, which would be a much cheaper vessel than the 35,000 16-inch ships.

He agreed, saying that, now all nations were so impoverished, some reduction from the very expensive Washington Treaty battleship might become inevitable. He then asked what could such proposed 12-inch ships do against existing 16-inch-gun battleships.

I admitted this difficulty, but suggested that new 12-inch guns might equal the existing 16-inch in range. Mr. Adams then asked the relative weights of projectiles, and said he could never believe that the 16-inch 2,400-lb. projectile could not outmatch the 850-lb. 12-inch, especially as the larger gun would be mounted in the bigger ship, which, in spite of all probable improvements, would carry thicker armour.

It was impossible not to admit this, and I could only suggest that it was often the lucky hit and not the size of projectile which did the vital damage.

Mr. Adams went on to say that the Navy Department thought that, in face of 16-inch ships, a drop to 12-inch was too great. He then remarked that the Navy Department had worked out plans for a 28,000-ton ship carrying 14-inch guns, which, it was thought, would not be too entirely outclassed by existing 16-inch ships.

I gathered that, if the question of reduction in size of battleships arises in the near future, the United States might suggest something on these lines.

There is no doubt, however, that, as a whole, the United States navy believes in the biggest possible battleship, and that any suggestion of decrease in size will be difficult to carry, especially if proposed by the British.

I have, &c.

P. MACNAMARA.

Naval Attaché.

NORTH AMERICA.

November 16, 1931.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 3.

[A 6683/6683/45]

No. 1.

Sir R. Lindsay to the Marquess of Reading.—(Received November 16.)

(No. 1716.)

My Lord,

Washington, November 5, 1931.

AMERICAN opinion seems to be generally convinced that the elections in the United Kingdom signify the adoption of a tariff. Reliance is placed on cable advices from London to the effect that a comprehensive tariff is not likely to be formulated until next year, but it is thought that emergency measures for reducing the unfavourable balance of trade may be adopted at an earlier date, and it is expected that sooner rather than later in 1932 a complete protective tariff system will be introduced. This country appears to be reconciled to the prospect, although His Majesty's consul-general reports from Boston that in New England it is generally held that the elections gave no mandate for a tariff, and that the adoption of one would be contrary to the interests of the United States. Many papers quote the statement that "it is not considered in Washington that the main purpose of any British tariff system would be to strike at the United States," and the "New York Herald-Tribune" points out that "the purpose would rather be to redress the Anglo-American trade balance and restart British industry; British protection might tread on our toes here and there, but if it succeeded in reviving prosperity in Great Britain, we would almost certainly be the gainers in the long run; already considerable British tariffs have been applied to imports without noticeably damaging the United States."

2. Official opinion on the subject may be reflected in the following statement from an article by the Economist of the Foreign Service of the Department of Agriculture, published by the Department:—

"It looks, therefore, as if we shall witness a considerable extension of the dutiable list, or of other forms of import restriction in Great Britain during the coming year. How far these restrictions will go remains to be seen. Quite possibly they will not, at least for the time being, go beyond the luxury class, or at any rate not beyond manufactures. Nevertheless, it should be recognised that the prospect of adoption of a general system of duties on food-stuffs as an ultimate, if not an immediate, phase of the new tariff situation is greater than at any time since the repeal of the corn laws."

"For American agriculture any such prospect is worthy of more than passing note. If, as is probable, cotton remains indefinitely on the British free list, the most important branch of our agricultural export trade with Great Britain will remain unaffected. But since Great Britain is by far the most important foreign market for other products of American agriculture (taken in the aggregate), what happens in that country with respect to tariffs on food-stuffs must still remain a matter of no little consequence to American farmers."

3. United States exports to Great Britain in 1930 were valued at approximately 678 million dollars (compared with 847 millions in 1929 and 848 millions in 1928) excluding the Irish Free State, and the following are some of the main groups:—

	Million Dollars.		Million Dollars.
Petroleum products	97	Automobiles and parts	14.5
Cotton	92	Canned fruits	12
Tobacco	77.5	Lumber	11
Pork, bacon, hams and lard	57	Wheat flour	8.5
Copper	25	Canned fish	5
Wheat	24	Motion pictures	2

[306 q—3]

14 JAN 1932

It is regarded as certain that no import duty will be placed on cotton, and unlikely that petroleum products will be taxed. Wheat may be affected by the adoption of duties or quotas, and American food-stuffs such as pork products, canned goods and fruits are expected to suffer heavily. Automobiles and tobacco are taxed already. South Africa may take the place of the United States in supplying British requirements of copper.

4. Speculation is naturally active as to the likelihood of the Imperial Economic Conference proposed to be held at Ottawa, now taking place, and as to the extent to which any system of Imperial preference for food-stuffs and raw materials might detrimentally affect United States trade. It is felt that some restraining influence on the imposition of restrictions or duties on foreign food-stuffs and raw materials may be exercised by the vast investments of British capital in Argentina and other South American countries.

5. A tariff on miscellaneous manufactured goods, which are normally exported to the United Kingdom, is expected to lead to the establishment there on a much wider scale than at present of branch factories of United States industrial corporations.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

NORTH AMERICA.

November 2, 1931.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 2.

[A 6424/5591/45]

No. 1.

Sir R. Lindsay to the Marquess of Reading.—(Received November 2.)

(No. 1655.)

My Lord,

Washington, October 22, 1931.

I HAVE the honour to refer to your Lordship's despatch No. 1346 of the 28th September, regarding the sesquicentennial anniversary of the siege of Yorktown, and to state that the celebrations terminated on Monday the 19th October. The arrangements were of a most elaborate description, several thousand troops had been moved into the Yorktown peninsula, over forty naval vessels were anchored in the York River, and the various pageants were organised on a lavish scale. The ceremonies lasted for four days named Colonial Day, Revolutionary Day, Religious Day and Anniversary Day, on the last of which the President attended. A French delegation headed by Marshal Pétain arrived on two French cruisers and was present throughout the celebration; the delegation included descendants of Lafayette, Rochambeau and de Grasse. The attendance of the general public was smaller than had been anticipated and this is ascribed to the depression.

2. As reported in the Embassy press-notes of the 24th July and the 14th August, and in Mr. Osborne's despatch No. 1413 of the 10th September there had been a controversy over the advisability of including in the ceremonies a representation of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis in case British susceptibilities should be ruffled; and the State Department had been represented as anxious to delete this item in the programme. Although the surrender was ultimately re-enacted, nothing occurred so far as can be ascertained at which offence could possibly be taken. Although, in the course of the copious oratory which was poured forth during the celebrations, much was said of the glorious co-operation of French and American arms in the past, the speakers went out of their way to spare British feelings. Governor Roosevelt, of New York, said that he wished to dwell, not on the surrender of an army under a brave leader, but on the genesis, as a result of the conflict, of a new concept of liberty for the human race. Mr. Hoover, in his speech, copies of which are enclosed,⁽¹⁾ said: "We assemble here to celebrate a victory for our own independence, but not essentially a victory over the British."

3. The attendance of the present Lord Cornwallis, who happened to be in this country on a Masonic visit, at the unveiling of a memorial tablet to his ancestor on the first day of the celebrations, did much to allay the nervousness shown in some quarters as to the possible effect of the celebrations on British sentiment. In a well-phrased speech and in various interviews his Lordship exploded the idea that any offence could be taken at such an anniversary; it was no disgrace, he said, to surrender to Washington, and there was no ill-feeling either at the time or later; the "honourable defeat" was not considered a disgrace in England, especially since Washington was "recognised as one of the greatest men in the world." He also remarked that the two commanders dined together after the surrender (and, so the story runs, dined extremely well).

4. The press have been equally forbearing. The "New York Times" says that after Lord Cornwallis's speech the only perplexity which arose in connexion with the celebration goes into the limbo of faded newspaper clippings. Even the isolationist papers have nothing offensive to say. The "Chicago Tribune" finds in Yorktown not a memorial to a great military achievement, but to individual courage "and thus it may now engage the attention of depressed Americans." The "Washington Post" also remarks that Yorktown looms great in history because of the nation which Washington brought into being, and adds that in the light of Washington's achievement it ought not to be difficult to mobilise confidence and courage and end the depression. But the Hearst press, while

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

[306 b-2]

V.S.
4 JAN 1932

remarking that nobody has been insulted, cannot refrain from adding that "this lesson of sea power and military power comes at a moment when an attempt is being made to cripple the American army and reduce the navy to helpless impotence."

5. No comments on the absence of a representative of His Majesty's Embassy from the celebrations have been observed in the papers.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

NORTH AMERICA.

March 19, 1931.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[A 1621/470/45]

No. 1.

Mr. A. Henderson to Sir R. Lindsay (Washington).

(No. 362.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 19, 1931.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 1923 of the 4th December last, enclosing an extract from the "United States Daily" of the 2nd of that month, reporting certain statements made by the United States Postmaster-General with regard to the alleged financial contribution to be paid by His Majesty's Government to the Cunard Line for the construction of a new express packet for the North Atlantic trade. I observe that Mr. Glover, in discussing this matter, is reported to have expressed the view that His Majesty's Government would pay the Cunard Line a subsidy which would be "more than substantial," but that its amount would never be accurately known, and, further, that he suggested it would be interesting to learn "if this new giant British ship will not be the cause for those of us who sometimes think of naval parity, as taking quite a place in that subject. Of a certainty, this new ship will have many emplacements for 6-inch guns and other naval requirements, such as a high top speed and with a superstructure which, in two months' time, could easily be made to fill the requirements of an aircraft carrier."

2. In point of fact, no subsidies, actual or concealed, have been paid by His Majesty's Government to the Cunard Steamship Company (Limited) in connexion with the construction of their new liner, which is being financed entirely by private capital. All that the Cunard Company have asked for, and obtained, is a guarantee that, in so far as the ordinary insurance market may be unable to provide the necessary cover for the new vessel, either in respect of construction risk or in respect of ordinary maritime risk, or in respect of both, the Board of Trade would provide the necessary insurances at rates specified in "The Cunard Insurance Agreement Act, 1930," a copy of which is enclosed.⁽¹⁾ It is hoped that the market will absorb the whole, or at any rate a large part of these risks without official intervention. In fact, what His Majesty's Government have done is to insure the Cunard Company against the possibility of not being able to find the required insurances on the open market; in this connexion, I should add that every care was taken in drafting the agreement to ensure that the rates at which Government insurance is afforded will be sufficiently high to prevent competition with the market.

3. As regards the possible use of the new vessel for war purposes, Mr. Glover is evidently unaware that the Cunard steamship "Aquitania," of 45,647 tons, which was the only one of the several very large vessels of the British Merchant Service to be taken up as an armed merchant cruiser during the war, was found unsuitable for this service on account of her size and expensive operation; her use as an armed cruiser was, in fact, discontinued after less than two months of service. In the case of the steamships "Lusitania" and "Mauretania," although a subsidy had been paid before the war with a view to their use during hostilities, they were, when the crisis arose, considered too large for such service and were never so used. The new Cunard liner, of approximately 73,000 tons, would be still more unsuitable for use as an armed merchant cruiser, and no arrangements have been made as to the fitting of gun emplacements. So far as the possible use of this vessel as an aircraft carrier is concerned, no such eventuality has even been considered, much less any arrangements made to influence in any way the design or construction of the ship with a view to her conversion to this service in time of war. The vessel's great size would be a disadvantage rather than otherwise.

4. In the statement reported in the "United States Daily" of the 2nd December last, Mr. Glover referred also to the question of payments for the carriage of mail, and his remarks may perhaps be interpreted as implying that,

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

while the scale of United States payments for services of this nature was broadcast throughout the world, similar frankness was not observed by other countries.

5. Your Excellency is already in possession (see my despatch No. 642 of the 2nd May, 1930) of full information on the payments made to shipping companies by His Majesty's Government, but, in order to make the situation entirely clear, I would observe that, so far as the North Atlantic mail service is concerned, the position is that contracts are in force with the Cunard and White Star Companies whereby all mails from this country to New York, as well as mails taken up at any port on the route, are carried by a fast service twice weekly, for which the companies receive £100,000 a year each, subject to increase or decrease on an agreed basis according to the traffic carried. The payments fixed are strictly for services rendered and contain no element of subsidy, nor are there any clauses of any kind covering preferential rates for freight or other privileges such as are to be found in many of the contracts made with steamship lines by other countries. It follows, therefore, that the payments of the Cunard and White Star Lines conceal no secret subsidies and are strictly what they purport to be—a fair remuneration for certain specific services. It may be added that if the annual payments were fixed according to speed and distance steamed at the rates now paid by the United States Government under their mail contracts, they would, on a conservative estimate, be at least trebled.

6. As Mr. Glover expressly desires to learn what part has been played by His Majesty's Government in the construction of the new Cunard liner, and as there have been several instances in the past in which misleading or mischievous comments on British policies in merchant shipping matters have been made in public by Post Office officials in the United States, I think it undesirable to ignore the matter. I shall therefore be glad if you will—should you see no local objection—communicate semi-officially to the United States Secretary of State, with reference to Mr. Glover's remarks as reported by the "United States Daily" on the 2nd December last, the information contained in the preceding paragraphs of this despatch, furnishing Mr. Stimson at the same time with the enclosed copy of "The Cunard Insurance Agreement Act, 1930," and requesting that the contents of your letter may be brought to the notice of the Postmaster-General.

7. I shall be glad to receive, in due course, a copy of your letter to Mr. Stimson.

I am, &c.

ARTHUR HENDERSON.

OPEN

Australian Archives
A981/1
United States 173 P12
Box:
ACT 1 25 B 354 5-357 6
CA 3196 Access
21/10/88

Applicant.....
Request No. 3630

COMMONWEALTH
ARCHIVES OFFICE
Applicant CRO
Request No. ACRO84
Date 13/6/73

COMMONWEALTH
ARCHIVES OFFICE
Applicant CRO
Request No. SP3358
Date 1/8/77

COMMONWEALTH
ARCHIVES OFFICE
Applicant Access
Request No. 2657
Date 25/10/73

AUSTRALIAN
ARCHIVES
13 FEB 1975
Applicant Accen
Request No. 70

20 APR 1977
ACCESS
ACC421